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Misrepresentation as Complicity

The Genocide against Indigenous Americans
in High School History Textbooks

By

Andrew Charles Holcom

Accepted in Partial Completion
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Moheb A. Ghali, Dean of the Graduate School

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MASTER'S THESIS

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Andrew Charles Holcom
May 14, 2010

Misrepresentation as Complicity

The Genocide against Indigenous Americans
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A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of
Western Washington University

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Of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
Andrew Charles Holcom
June 2010

Abstract

Textbooks are the guiding documents for high school history courses in the United States, and states create their own education standards for their students. Washington State expects students to consider indigenous peoples' perspective on United States history to be one of genocide. Given this mandate, textbooks used in Washington State are responsible for presenting that perspective. That responsibility is primarily placed on textbooks because they represent a disproportionate amount of the curricular materials used in United States history classes across the country. A sample of six textbooks representing half of those currently used in Whatcom County, Washington, was analyzed for the inclusion of best practices for genocide education when discussing indigenous peoples. Textbooks were coded using content analysis of the text, images and captions, as well as semiotic analysis of selected images and their framing on the page. Texts' representations of victims of the Holocaust were used as a basis for comparison because of their universally recognized status as victims of genocide. My findings suggest that the perspectives of both groups of victims are inadequately represented in the textbooks, but in very different ways, and that these misrepresentations could be interpreted as complicity in continuing the genocides against the two groups.

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Hitler's concept of concentration camps as well as the practicability of genocide owed much, so he claimed, to his studies of English and United States history... [he] often praised to his inner circle the efficiency of America's extermination- by starvation and uneven combat- of the red savages who could not be tamed by captivity.

(Toland 1976:702)

Nazi Germany's move toward genocide was gradual, argued John Toland-- one of Hitler's most well-known biographers-- yet was done with a calculated certainty. For Hitler, the history of the United States had shown genocide to be possible and practical. He took the lesson that with time it could be seen as acceptable by the nation and the world. His plans were thankfully thwarted by the failure of the Axis Powers to defeat the Allied armies, and his massive campaign of genocide was exposed to the world. It is arguably because of this defeat that genocide was canonized in international law. Had Nazi Germany come out of the Second World War victorious, there is a distinct possibility that "genocide" as an international legal concept might not exist. This does not mean that what happened would not constitute genocide by today's standards; it simply means that the dominant discourse on the events would likely be significantly shifted away from Nazi Germany's aggressive actions toward civilians.

Genocides are committed with the intent of destroying a population of people identified by the perpetrators as the "other", separate and distinguishable by some common identity. A successful genocide aims to remove even the memory of the targeted group, leaving a population of perpetrators and bystanders. Genocides are started through aggressive actions against targeted populations, but they are extended, continued and arguably completed by the purposeful destruction of the collective memory of the targeted population. In order for an act to be considered genocide, it must be shown to have been committed with intent (*mens rea*) to destroy the targeted group, which will be further discussed in Chapter 1. Misrepresenting the victims of genocide may or may not be done with the necessary "intent to destroy", yet it supports the

perpetrators' goals of identity destruction and, in my opinion, when it is carried out by an educational authority of the state, it constitutes complicity in genocide.

In examining the representation of victims of genocide in educational settings, multiple perspectives on the topic need to be incorporated. Genocide is now a clearly defined crime under the United Nations, and, as such, the legal definition provides consistency for students in educational discussions of genocide as well as allowing for comparative analysis. This is important because once identified, naming an occurrence of violence as genocide allows students to think about it in a fundamentally different way, associating it with concepts that distinguish it from conventional warfare. Reconceptualizing the violence as genocidal brings the victims to the forefront. They become the subject of the violence rather than merely a product of it. Scholars and activists have developed a strong canon of literature on the best practices for discussing genocide's victims in a way that helps to counter their attempted destruction by the perpetrators, and these standards are vital for educational institutions interested in teaching about genocide without tacitly supporting it.

The representation of indigenous peoples' experiences in United States history textbooks is a well-investigated topic. Recent studies have been completed on the changes in representation over time (Schuman, Schwartz and D'Arcy 2005, Moore and Clark 2004). There are also studies of contemporary textbooks currently employed in classrooms (Lavere 2008, Sanchez 2007, Kaomea 2000, Ashley and Jarratt-Ziemski 1999). Regarding changes over time, Tami Moore and Barbara Clark (2004) found that while the consistently identified derogatory themes in textbook representation lessened over time, especially in response to the civil rights movement of the 1960's, representation typically moved away from overgeneralization toward "terse and sterile presentation" (2004:21). They suggested that while the reduction of negative stereotypes in textbooks was

positive, the absence of engaging information could be just as damaging. Howard Schuman, Barry Schwartz and Hannah D'Arcy (2005) looked at textbook coverage of the Columbus story, which they posit as the creation myth of the United States. They found that generally the representations of indigenous peoples had become more positive over time, while the representations of Columbus remained mixed. The changes in historical perspectives on indigenous people were not indicative of a change in historical perspectives on the purposes and repercussions of Columbus's actions, which had significant effects on indigenous populations.

Analyses of contemporary textbooks reveal significant shortcomings in representations of indigenous peoples. Building from the work of James Loewen (1995) and others, Tony Sanchez (2007) analyzed textbooks for the accuracy of their representation of indigenous cultures. His findings were consistent with the longitudinal studies mentioned above; while representations had generally improved from earlier studies, only three of the fifteen textbooks he analyzed "do an acceptable job of depicting Native peoples within the scope of the American experience in a truthful, accurate, and objective manner" (Sanchez 2007:316). Julie Kaomea's study (2000) of Hawaiian textbooks found that the mandated inclusion of indigenous history was, in fact, detrimental to students' understandings of indigenous Hawaiians as a cultural group. She argued that Hawaiian textbooks institutionalized indigenous identity as a part of Hawaii's tourist industry and warned indigenous peoples "to think closely before lobbying for inclusion in area studies curricula that may ultimately do more damage than good" (2000:319). David Laverre (2008) focused on the exercises included in textbooks which students were expected to complete in order to demonstrate their learning and "critical thinking" skills in regards to indigenous peoples. He found that eleven of the thirteen textbooks he analyzed used "lower-level questions at a rate of 90 percent or more"

(2008:4). They focused on basic recall questions, demonstrated little increase in complexity from one grade level to the next, and generally did not encourage historical inquiry.

Most studies viewed indigenous Americans as one of a number of racial minorities in the United States without considering their unique status in American history. Jeffrey Ashley and Karen Jarratt-Ziemski (1999) analyzed textbooks for the space devoted to indigenous peoples relative to other minority groups, in addition to illuminating biases against indigenous peoples. Their findings suggested that the special legal status of indigenous groups as domestic dependent nations was almost universally overlooked. Indigenous Americans were often lumped in with other minority groups, which they argued negatively affected indigenous attempts to exert their rights in contemporary society (1999:57-60). There is yet another unique status that indigenous Americans occupy in United States history textbooks which, as far as I could find, no studies have attempted to examine: namely, their status as victims of genocide.

Schools in Washington State are mandated to teach the state-wide Essential Academic Learning Requirements which specifically describe “indigenous people’s perspective of genocide” (GLE 4.3.1, Washington State Curriculum and Instruction Division 2003:56) as a learning goal. This mandate in and of itself prescribes genocide education in Washington State to incorporate indigenous peoples. Some might argue that the United States’ actions cannot or should not be described as genocide because at the time, the concept had not been specifically articulated. I disagree with that argument; the study of history is a fluid process. Facts are always stated from a subject position, and every subject inherently maintains biases. Fifty years ago, the concept “sexual harassment” had not been clearly articulated, and yet acts which met the definition certainly occurred. In fact, one might argue that naming the action allowed for a movement against it. People fifty years ago were just as human as they are today, and insulting, degrading treatment hurt

just as much then as it does today. In the same way genocide against indigenous peoples was no less genocide by dint of it having happened before the term “genocide” was coined.

This thesis begins by exploring the history of the term genocide and the nuances of its use as a legal term. The thesis moves on to briefly discuss the theoretical issues regarding the importance of naming and defining actions as genocide. Following this discussion, the state-wide education standards for students in Washington and their inclusion of genocide are investigated. The thesis goes on to discuss the rationale for terming the intention of the United States toward indigenous Americans as genocidal. The focus is not to prove genocide, but to offer historical examples of genocidal practices and attitudes demonstrated by the United States to provide the reader with a basic foundation in the indigenous perspective of genocide and, by extension, what would be needed to communicate that perspective in United States history textbooks. An examination of contemporary scholarship on teaching about genocide follows, outlining a framework for appropriate and effective genocide education. This thesis uses that framework methodologically as a guide for creating various coding mechanisms which are applied to a sample of six United States history textbooks from Whatcom County high schools. The findings are interpreted and the underlying teaching objectives and assumptions are explored. The data tables are included in the appendix.

I sampled six randomly selected textbooks, which constitute half of all the textbooks currently employed in high school United States history classrooms throughout the county. All of the books were published within a ten year period from 1995 to 2005 by four different publishers. I chose to analyze the books in three distinct ways. I use content analysis to code for the presence or absence of various elements in the text. I also use content analysis separately to code any images associated with targeted populations and the text directly related to those images. These two data

sets are distinguished because of the unique influence images have in contemporary American culture. The third lens of analysis I utilize is a semiotic look at the images themselves and their positioning in the texts. Semiotics allows for the dominant symbolism of the images to be included in the analysis, symbolism often missed through content analysis alone.

All of the textbooks sampled included a separate section discussing the European Holocaust, associating it with the term “genocide”, so representations of its victims are used as a basis for comparison in this thesis. I chose to refer to the populations targeted by Nazi Germany collectively as victims of the Holocaust because the Nazis targeted a variety of populations, and it would be cumbersome and distracting to list all of the targeted groups throughout the paper. I recognize that the term victim is disempowering, and I ask the reader to forgive this use of language for the sake of brevity. This thesis is an assessment of how well textbooks in Whatcom County, and by extension textbooks in Washington State and beyond, meet their requirements to teach about the victims of genocide, and as such the victims of the Holocaust deserve a space in that analysis.

Chapter 1: Conceptualizing the Reality of Genocide

Genocide's Genesis: Creating a Crime

In 1946, the United Nations came together to establish a new convention of international humanitarian law: the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (hereafter referred to as the Genocide Convention). Genocide was a term coined by Raphael Lemkin in 1944 in his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe* to describe the crimes of the Nazi regime categorically. Lemkin lobbied relentlessly to have genocide included in international law as its own category of crimes against humanity. Since its inception, the term “genocide” has been steeped in scholarly debate around its use in international law to define, punish and hopefully prevent certain crimes (for more discussion on this debate, see Totten 1999b).

There was much debate among United Nations member states about how to define the crime of genocide at the time. States had their own interests and dispositions on minorities and suffering, and thus attempted to tailor the definition to meet their particular political objectives by including and excluding particular groups and crimes. This debate demonstrated that the ascribed status of “victim”, according to Robert Elias, was less about objective harm than it was about interests that shape the recognition of victimization (Elias 1986:29-30). For example, Russia and Poland objected to the inclusion of “political groups” as potential victims of genocide in order to protect their previous and potential future counter-insurgency efforts (Kuper 1981:25-26). The result was a fairly narrow definition of genocide adopted by the Convention in 1946 compared to Lemkin’s arguably less political definition from 1944 (see Appendix A1).

Samuel Totten argued that Lemkin’s original definition in 1944 was much more inclusive of “ethnocide”, a term now often used as separate from genocide (Totten 1999b:142). According to

Frank Chalk and Kurt Jonassohn (1990:9), “ethnocide” was coined in France following Nazi occupation to describe efforts to destroy a people’s culture without necessarily killing group members en masse. While ethnocide is in fact very much a part of the Genocide Convention, it is not as explicitly defined as physical acts of brutality and therefore is often left out of popular and scholarly discussions of genocide. This thesis will refrain from doing so, as genocide clearly encompasses the processes of “ethnocide” and was intended to do so by the creator of the term. The inclusion of ethnocide in the Genocide Convention will be illuminated later in this chapter.

Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, Article II

In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

(Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights 1948)

The convention’s definition has three basic parts. The first, and arguably the most important, is the intent of the perpetrator. Genocide cannot be committed unless it is intentionally committed; it cannot be an afterthought or a re-interpretation of the facts. Genocide cannot happen accidentally, nor can genocide be committed against any arbitrarily defined group of people, which leads to the second element. The Genocide Convention clearly delineates the four categories that groups must fall into: national, ethnical, racial or religious. The third part of the definition lists acts which must be committed “to destroy, in whole or in part” the group being considered (OHCHR 1948: Article II). Therefore, a group must be defined in a certain way in order to be considered by the convention, must have certain types of acts committed against it, *and* those acts must be committed with the intent to destroy that group, either totally or partially. The number of victims

does not affect an event's classification as genocide so long as it meets the previously stated three conditions.

There are five acts recognized by the convention which are considered to be acts of genocide. The first, Article II A, is the one most often considered in conversations on genocide: "killing members of the group." This act at first glance might seem unambiguous, though an argument could be made that depriving members of a group access to food, water and medical care meets this definition. The challenge of proving fatal deprivation to be an act of genocide would be to prove that the killing was not an act of war nor of misunderstanding and confusion, but a deliberate attempt to destroy the group.

The lesser known acts of genocide also leave significant room for interpretation. Article II B delineates "causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group" as an act of genocide. The term "mental harm" is another phrase which allows for multiple interpretations and could be very difficult to prove as an outcome of genocide when combined with the necessary intent component. Article II C speaks to effects on group dynamics rather than to effects on individuals by defining "inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part" as an act of genocide. Articles II D and II E, like Article II A, appear to be objective and easily quantifiable: "imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group" and "forcibly transferring children of the group to another group", respectively (OHCHR 1948). Like conditions specified within Article II A, however, malnutrition and starvation could be considered acts intended to prevent births, but the challenge is proving the clause of intent. The term "forcibly" could also be interpreted through the lens of starvation, in that if a group were forced into a situation where they faced starvation, their children might be "forced" out of the group to survive.

This article is especially relevant to indigenous experiences as it relates to boarding schools, discussed in Chapter 2.

Article II C can be interpreted to encompass the concept of “ethnocide” discussed by Chalk and Jonassohn (1990). Article II C does not refer to killing members of a group nor to physically or mentally assaulting them as do Articles II A and II B. Therefore, in this thesis Article II C shall be interpreted to mean actions deliberately taken to permanently break apart families, communities, religious congregations or to otherwise fundamentally alter the group’s identity such that it is no longer a cohesive group. These destructive conditions could be, and indeed have been, inflicted upon groups through the use of coercive legal, economic and political practices designed to destabilize and undermine categorically defined groups. The importance of recognizing and naming these types of actions as genocide is that non-threatening language such as assimilation could be used to hide genocidal practices which otherwise might not be recognized as such.

The Power of the Word: Theories on Naming

Beyond the legalistic arguments for naming the genocide against indigenous Americans, there is a profound necessity for naming in the interest of education and social philosophy. Naming a phenomenon is a political act, in that to name is to begin constructing a definition of the subject in order to share it with others. This definition, if accepted, functions by creating a distinction between what is and what is not part of the definition, a distinction which has far-reaching social consequences. Ferdinand de Saussure (1986[1916]), a foundational post-modern social linguist, described language as a social institution existing autonomously within a culture. Its application was not one of ascribing names to objects located in an objective reality, but in relating symbols to one another. That is to say, language does not describe a specific reality, but instead weaves a socially-

defined tapestry of reality by relating a particular immaterial concept to other socially-constructed concepts. In this way a name given to a concept structures the relationships that it has with other concepts. For example, calling an object “a chair” structures the way that individuals interact with the object and their expectations about its physical orientation, function and etcetera. The term genocide is fundamentally different from other terms which might be used to describe similar events, such as massacre, assimilation, forced conformity and so forth because of the associations between genocide and other socially defined concepts such as intent.

If an action or state of affairs is not named, it is not coded with the symbolic meaning that makes it relevant within a given social context. Social linguists, starting with Saussure and Ludwig Wittgenstein (1968[1953]), tended to believe that language does not intrinsically have meaning; meaning is socially constructed and socially relative. Therefore, Wittgenstein argued, meaning is derived in a social context, being created by the participation of an individual in a community. Essentially, the naming of a concept allows for it to enter the social consciousness of a society, which then allows for it to be interwoven with other related concepts and given meaning for the individuals in that society. Here the use of terminology in textbooks becomes vital. Using the term “assimilation” in place of “genocide” is not merely the skirting of a legal term for an internationally defined crime, but the replacement of one culturally-constructed network of understanding for another.

“Assimilation”, in the context of United States social and historical paradigms, is a very different concept from “genocide”, especially as these terms relate to other socially significant terms such as “melting pot” and “democracy” for American students. “Genocide” creates cognitive dissonance for students when applied to a framework that holds “democracy” as a tenant. This dissonance, argued Thomas Fallace in his critique of secondary Holocaust education in the United

States, is what moves students into higher-order thinking which he believed was an essential goal for Holocaust education and secondary education generally (Fallace 2008). Fallace took as fundamental that “the Holocaust is not a discipline, it [is] a subject, a collection of evidence. But there is no better subject in the world to develop moral and cognitive growth” (Fallace 2008:181). Facts and information are required, but the focus, he argued, should be on intellectual transformation of students.

If a goal of our educational system is to help students understand the case for genocide against indigenous peoples (as indicated by GLE 4.3.1), it needs to be named as such in the materials used to teach the historical content. The naming is not simply an objectification of the events, but a linking of the events to other social processes and understandings that allow for complex thought. The naming allows the study of indigenous peoples to contribute to intellectual transformations that public education seeks to attain. If genocide education is included, as Fallace argued, to spur “moral and cognitive growth”, the genocide against indigenous Americans has a unique potential to do so for students in the United States.

Teaching the Terrible: Genocide in Washington State Education

In the United States, education is regulated by the states; there is no national curriculum that all American students follow. Genocide education has been recognized by Washington State’s policy makers as an important addition to compulsory education since 1992 through the passing of House Bill 2212. In summary, it “encourages” high schools to include education about the Holocaust and informs teachers that they “may also include” information about other genocides throughout history. The Superintendent of Public Instruction “may prepare and make available” information and materials to be used for teaching the subject (State of Washington 1992).

The 1992 piece of legislation simply sanctions Holocaust education and genocide education generally. It is silent on the rationale or appropriate methodology for teaching the subject and provides no guidelines for instructors or curriculum developers to follow. It appears to be more of a political tip of the hat than a purposeful addition to history instruction. The United Nations' definition of genocide is not utilized; instead the legislation uses the phrase "where subcultures or large human populations have been eradicated by the acts of humankind" (State of Washington 1992). This wording does not necessarily describe the crime of genocide (discussed above); it could just as easily be used to justify the study of war in general because its focus is on the size of the victim population, not on the intent of the perpetrators. It also does not encourage understanding genocide through the lens of international law, as it does not reference the Genocide Convention nor the United Nations. The state edict alone is generally unhelpful for educators interested in support for meaningful genocide education.

The Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, however, has the authority to dictate specific guidelines for education in Washington State. These guidelines, known as the Essential Academic Learning Requirements (hereafter referred to as the EALRs), direct the curriculum taught throughout the state, outlining the expected learning goals for students of all grade levels. They also specify ways to meet those goals in the Grade Level Expectations (hereafter referred to as the GLEs).

Genocide, as defined by the United Nations in the *1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide*, is a clearly articulated feature of the Social Studies curriculum in Washington State. The word "genocide" appears five times in the GLEs. It is used almost exclusively for high school learning objectives (the exception will be discussed later). Its use references four separate genocides of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, namely: Bosnia-GLE 3.1.1, Rwanda-GLE 4.3.1, the Holocaust-GLE 4.4.1, and Darfur, Sudan-GLE 5.3.1. All four references

fall in different units of the curriculum, from human rights and international conflict to globalization and the economy. All four of the GLEs ask students to analyze the events of each conflict to further understand their causes, their classification as genocide, or how the events have affected subsequent mobilizations to prevent genocide. In short, they are used to spur critical thinking about the process and intent of genocide.

The GLEs suggest that a critical, comparative analysis of genocide is important in order to understand such a complex and contentious issue. They also suggest that various perspectives on genocide are worthy of serious consideration. The ages at which students are expected to study genocide suggest that students need to be emotionally and intellectually prepared to grapple with the challenges inherent in genocide scholarship. It is therefore of great concern that the exception to this pattern is the most relevant to the lives of American students. The Social Studies GLEs, to which every social studies teacher in Washington State is expected to adhere, include a recommended educational goal specifically referencing indigenous peoples in the United States and their experience of genocide:

Analyzes the multiple perspectives and interpretations of historical events in U.S. history.

Examples:

- Examines different accounts of the colonization era, including colonists' perspective of settlement and indigenous people's perspective of genocide.

(GLE 4.3.1, Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction 2008:56)

This GLE both affirms and is problematic for the study of indigenous peoples. It directly links indigenous people's history to an experience of genocide, although it is minimized by being included in a comparative format with the perspective of the perpetrators as opposed to being compared with other genocides. The perspective of indigenous peoples is at once regarded as significant through the use of the term genocide and is discounted as merely an interpretation of history. It is further problematic in that this learning goal is listed for fifth grade students who, based on the

previously discussed GLEs, will not be exposed to concepts of genocide or international law for another four years. Genocide is not clearly defined for students until late into high school, and is discussed in a comparative framework with other genocides to allow for a broad perspective on the concept and its application in international law. This GLE creates a mandate for teaching about indigenous peoples as victims of genocide. The appropriateness of that instruction in fifth grade, however, is questionable. From its inception, Holocaust curriculum in the United States has been designed for secondary education (Fallace 2008), and some scholars believe that is where it, and by extension all genocide education, should remain.

Samuel Totten, one of the most prominent scholars on Holocaust education, has argued that concepts of genocide are not appropriate for most students in elementary school because they do not yet possess the critical thinking skills to understand them (Totten 1999a). The processes, magnitude and brutality of genocide are not easily conceptualized even for many adults, Totten asserted, and attempting to adequately teach those topics at such a young age has the serious potential of either traumatizing students and/or trivializing the topic. Granted, American youth today are exposed to graphic violence, often when they are very young, through video games, television and popular films. This may, in fact, make teaching about genocide at a young age even more difficult due to the glorification of violence in popular culture, a topic which is far outside the purview of this thesis. Regardless, if indigenous experiences are going to be discussed as genocide, it would make sense for that discussion to happen when the concept of genocide had already been introduced, apart from any specific example.

Coincidentally, United States history classes are also frequently taught in ninth and tenth grade in Washington State. These grade levels are already recognized in the GLEs as developmentally appropriate for genocide scholarship. The GLEs also acknowledge the critical

importance of comparative education in regard to genocide. These comparisons, however, are between various experiences of genocide, not comparisons of perpetrator and victim perspectives on experiences of genocide.

Genocide is not simply a descriptor; it is a legal term under the United Nations, and therefore the standards of international law deserve to be brought to bear when considering acts that may constitute genocide. Indigenous Americans are recognized as having a place in that conversation; GLE 4.3.1 asks teachers to be explicit in including an indigenous perspective as one of genocide victims. Therefore, in order to meet that standard, we would expect materials used to depict the experiences of indigenous Americans in high school United States history classes to present that perspective. This expectation seems reasonable, given that students at this developmental stage are also expected to be considering other manifestations of genocide comparatively. The findings of my research, however, suggest that this is not the case.

Chapter 2: Institutional Genocide against Indigenous Americans

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the expanding United States came into direct conflict with a great many indigenous groups occupying land to the west of European Americans' initial settlements. Indigenous groups were often regarded, at least initially, as independent sovereign nations by the United States (Grande 2004:38-40, Deloria and Lytle 1984:16-17). Within the last few decades, the past experiences of indigenous nations at the hands of the United States have been described by indigenous scholars and activists as experiences of genocide, though at the time of the historical events, neither genocide nor any substantial international law had been clearly defined. Academics have written substantial literature on the injustices perpetrated against indigenous Americans, but few have used the contemporary legal lens of genocide, as defined by the United Nations' Genocide Convention (see Chapter 1), to analyze these crimes.

One of the greatest challenges of proving genocide is the component of intent (see Schabas 2000 for more on the legal aspects of genocide). The direct physical violence perpetrated against indigenous Americans, while vast in scope (see Kiernan 2007), has been difficult for scholars to cast as genocide due to the difficulty in proving direct "intent to destroy the group." The analytical lens of genocide, as a legal concept defined by the United Nations, requires that groups be defined in particular ways in order to be considered legal victims of genocide. The United States has, at different times, used a variety of tactics to define indigenous groups as national, racial, religious, and ethnic in nature. The country used those definitions to justify acts of violence aimed at suppressing and/or destroying indigenous identities. Viewed through the lens of genocide, the scholarship on violence against indigenous nations can be reinterpreted as genocidal violence. As such, it deserves a place in the historical conversation about indigenous experience as outlined in

the EALRs (see Chapter 1). The following chapter will outline identities- national, racial, religious, and ethnic- constructed by the United States to define indigenous peoples and the types of genocidal violence perpetrated against groups identified by these identities.

Indigenous Nationality- Land as Identity

The primary reason for the destruction of indigenous nations by the United States was a constant drive for expansion. “As the United States marched across this continent, it was creating an empire by wars of foreign conquest just as England and France were doing in India and Africa” (Deloria 1988:51). As that “march” pressed westward, Americans sought not only to take lands by treaty and by force but also to fundamentally change the relationship with the land that indigenous peoples had. This tactic was done primarily for the purpose of dispossessing indigenous peoples from an ever-increasing portion of territory. Those relationships with the land were and remain an integral part of indigenous identities (Deloria and Lytle 1984). American indigenous nations were all oral cultures, and the majority of the oral traditions were told in the form of stories which passed information about the location and context of a story as well as behaviors and attitudes of people. Indigenous identities were intimately tied to place, and indigenous peoples’ survival depended on a complex, specialized relationship with the environments in which they lived.

Through the dispossession of land, the United States consistently sought to destroy indigenous identity and used policies, treaties and force to that end. The “intent to destroy” indigenous peoples was not pervasive initially, but it developed over time in the interest of expanding the land holdings of European Americans, exemplary of the process of genocide. The process of westward expansion both demonstrated the growing intent of destruction as well as propelled it by revealing what could be gained if indigenous peoples were destroyed.

In the early years of the colonization and settlement of North America by Europeans, indigenous peoples were integral to the survival of the foreigners (Weatherford 1990). Their specialized relationships with their environments allowed them to sustain relatively large populations, something the colonizers struggled with for quite some time. As the colonizers became accustomed to the “new” farming practices required and the “new” food crops that were suited to the area, they found they had less and less need of their indigenous neighbors. At the same time, the land on which they lived became more and more valuable to the colonizers who could now harness and maximize its production potential.

The settlement of eastern North America was primarily an economic activity. “By 1670 all of the important parts of Anglo North America and the Carribean had been allotted to one company or another to explore, control, and exploit” (Weatherford 1990:33). The colonies of North America were arguably created by and maintained for the extraction of resources, not for religious freedom as popular belief typically portrays them (Weatherford 1990). The economic foundation of the United States was based in the harvesting of animals, the establishment of plantations and the export of cash crops. Some scholars see the colonies not as a place of freedom per se, but rather as a place for capitalism to flourish and resource extraction to be conducted without restriction (see Weatherford 1990, Loewen 1995).

The Doctrine of Discovery, which was the guiding principle for European colonialism, essentially granted the European Christian “discoverers” de facto title to lands they “found”; they merely had to pay the “discovered” - meaning the indigenous peoples already living there- for them (Weatherford 1990, Deloria 1988). There were often challenges inherent in these purchases because the political organization of most indigenous groups was so unlike those of Europeans (Deloria and Lytle 1984). Indigenous political organization often could not be described as

hierarchical because positions of power were constantly negotiated based on the situation for which a representative was needed. Colonizers might simply choose someone to pay, regardless if that person represented the community or not (Weatherford 1990). The Doctrine of Discovery thus encouraged a mad dash for the Americas by European powers in order to claim title to lands. This doctrine continued as a foundational guiding principle for the newly formed United States. “[D]iscovery gave the United States exclusive right to extinguish Indian title of occupancy either by purchase or conquest” (Deloria 1988:31).

Indigenous peoples at first tolerated the expanding colonizer populations but eventually began to feel the strains of their neighbors. Treaties signed with various agents of the United States government promised certain lands “in perpetuity” in exchange for the sacrifice of other portions of their lands for the growing colonizer settlements. These treaties were so often violated, authors have written about the inherent distrust felt collectively by indigenous peoples towards any promises made by the United States (Moore 2006, Deloria and Lytle 1984, Johansen and Maestas 1979). In spite of this, indigenous nations continued to sign treaties with the United States for lack of any viable alternatives as illustrated here:

During the 1868 treaty negotiations with the Sioux and Arapaho, at times the American commissioners speak of the Sioux as a small nation that can be totally destroyed by the kind of warfare the United States was willing to wage were peace not forthcoming from the talks. (Deloria and Lytle 1984:7)

Land speculation in the early nineteenth century had pushed indigenous peoples further and further west. Land which had previously been either stolen or coerced from indigenous nations was sold at great profit to settlers (Johansen and Maestas 1979). The availability of cheaply-sold land, coupled with the expansion of the railroad in the mid-1800’s, resulted in an explosion of non-

native populations on and near indigenous lands. Pressure mounted to grant settlers and miners access to lands delineated through treaties specifically for individual indigenous nations.

Eventually, European-American conquest reached the Pacific Ocean, and there was no further “west” to go. In order for the colonizers’ expansion to continue, tribal lands that had previously been granted through treaty needed to be broken apart. While indigenous nations varied in their land use practices and relationships with the land, the land use practices of European-Americans were generally quite different, with one head of household holding specific rights to well-defined plots of land. The Allotment Act of 1887 parceled out indigenous reservations which had been held in common, assigning 160 acres to each indigenous family head and 80 acres for each dependent, and of course confiscating the “surplus” to be sold to white settlers (see Deloria and Lytle 1984 and Johansen and Maestas 1979 for more on allotment). The allotment of indigenous lands, beyond removing land from indigenous possession, also disrupted indigenous cultural traditions. Because of the unique character of indigenous identity and religious practice as it related to the specific land on which indigenous peoples lived, it can be argued that, beyond a violation of treaty rights, removing them from these spaces was itself a direct assault on them as cultural and religious groups. In the act of alienating the people from what was left of their land, the United States purposefully and successfully attacked the social cohesion of the nations (Johansen and Maestas 1979:12).

The “Indian”, as it were, was merely an obstacle to European American expansion much like the high mountains and the vast plains. From early settlement of the Eastern Seaboard to the establishment of the Pacific Coast settlements, indigenous lands were purchased or stolen to make way for expanding European American settlement. As the frontier dwindled, resources within indigenous reserves were sought. In order to acquire their lands, indigenous peoples were targeted

in various ways, changing as the national conscience reacted to various forms of violence perpetrated against them. While the understanding of indigenous peoples as fully human shifted through time, the goals of their dehumanization remained the same. Their constructed group identity was kept fairly fluid by the United States, shifting to allow for “appropriate” justification of land dispossession by European Americans. At times racially, religiously and/or ethnically marginalized, “Indians” were often cast as the “other” for the benefit of European American society.

Racializing the “Indian”

Indigenous Americans have always comprised a very broad spectrum of customs, cultures, beliefs and lifeways. The government of the United States, however, while at times recognizing the independent sovereignty of the separate nations (Deloria & Lytle 1984:16-17), tended to treat indigenous groups collectively. “Indians” were often lumped together by both laymen and lawmakers, a process which “reduced all the diverse Native American peoples into a single despised nonwhite group and, where they... survive[d], into a hereditary caste” (Drinnon 1980:xvi). Certain tribes were favored in their relations with the United States, but they were often praised for their assimilation of Euro-American values and practices. For example, the so-called “Five Civilized Tribes” (the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole) were highly esteemed by the United States for their adoption of European-style farming, governance and literacy, yet even this did not keep them safe from American expansionism (Deloria 1998:103, Deloria & Lytle 1984:20-27).

Genocides throughout time have involved powerful groups both naming and defining less powerful groups in terms that strip them of their individual identities and distance them from the majority (see Power 2002 for more on genocides in the 20th century). Oppression is more easily carried out when targeted groups have become a faceless mass. Such a practice is less likely to

prompt a humanitarian reaction from a dominating population if entire groups, not specific individuals or families, are destroyed (see Grossman 1995 for more on the effect of dehumanizing enemies).

Racism became more visible worldwide in the mid-nineteenth century, supported by the advent of social Darwinism, and it was used to justify the domination of non-whites by whites. Craniology and other pseudo-sciences became prevalent, used to convince the population of the morality of conquest and the righteousness of European hegemony (Johansen & Maestas 1979:23). Indigenous peoples, however, rarely used racial ideologies to define their struggles against oppression. Characterization of conflict between the United States and indigenous nations as racial opposition originated in American mythology, pitting “whites” against “reds” (Johansen & Maestas 1979). In reality, many of the names indigenous peoples had for the colonizers referred to their motivations and actions such as “Wasi’chu”, a Lakota Sioux word meaning “greedy one who takes the fat” (Johansen & Maestas 1979:11), or “Veho”, the Cheyenne word for spiders- “those who surround and choke their prey” (Johansen & Maestas 1979:20). The racialization of indigenous peoples by European Americans erased individual national identities, which in turn minimized specific treaty rights each nation had bargained for. If indigenous groups were not recognized as independent political nations, they could be treated as simply one more minority group, foreign to the mainstream American identity.

The efforts by European Americans to turn the conflict into one about race was a further example of the attempted dehumanization of indigenous peoples used to justify crimes committed against them. Those racially-motivated crimes, while constituting oppression and bigotry, do not seem to qualify as genocide because of the inability to show European Americans’ direct “intent to destroy” the racial group. Those crimes did, however, certainly reinforce indigenous peoples’

second-class status in society and devalue their cultural variety and uniqueness. The conflict was later redefined by the government of the United States to divide the heathen from the saved and the savage from the civilized (Dussais 1997), but racism played its role in those distinctions as well. That is to say, while race may not have been the group identity specifically used to target indigenous Americans for genocide, defining people in racial terms certainly contributed to other oppression based on ethnicity, religion and other characteristics.

Indigenous Religion as Moral Justification

The United States had long claimed a “paternal relationship” over the indigenous nations it enveloped by assuming it knew what was ultimately best for them (Deloria 1988). In 1869, the so-called “Peace Policy” was enacted to coordinate government action toward indigenous nations. Prior to 1869, executive decisions had swayed back and forth between extermination, expulsion and co-habitation, but the push for settlement of indigenous lands had never ceased (Kiernan 2007). Political pressures continued to mount within the United States, demanding at different times: expansion into indigenous lands, a conclusion to the “Indian Wars”, and an end to blatant human rights abuses (though not couched in those terms). In response to these pressures, the government made the 1869 bureaucratic attempt to “make peace” with indigenous nations through targeted assimilation. In effect, the US government put cultural imperialism into law.

The Peace Policy mandated a Board of Indian Commissioners (BIC) be created who directly monitored these “dependent nations” and set about the work of “civilizing” them. The BIC annual report of 1869 clearly stated the viewpoint of the board on the relationship between the government and indigenous nations: “the duty of [the US government] being to... educate them in... the principles of Christianity”, “believed to be the most effective agent for the civilization of any

people” (Dussais 1997:773). The BIC itself was not designed to teach Christian philosophy, but it coordinated missionary organizations interested in making converts. In fact, most of the administration of indigenous nations was handled by Christian religious organizations of various denominations, thereby effectively absolving the government of responsibility for its “wards” (Dussais 1997:779). The government created a mandate to target and effectively destroy indigenous peoples as a religious group, though in reality indigenous cosmologies were numerous and varied from one nation to the next. The essentialization of indigenous peoples, however, constituted them as one “group”, and their religion as one religion, that of the “heathen”, that is, of the non-Christian.

This type of activity was not new for the United States. Missionaries had been a part of the national strategy since the very beginning in 1776 (Dussais 1997:777). Indigenous souls were viewed as “unoccupied”, waiting to be filled with Christianity in order to save them from heathenism. In fact, that model mirrored the United States’ views on indigenous land use practices, which left the land appearing “vacant”, thus negating native rights to the land (Dussais 1997:822). The assumption of “vacancy” illuminates the profound differences in theology between Christians and indigenous peoples. It was difficult for European Americans to understand indigenous cosmology as “religious”, and even into the 20th Century it has been a challenge for indigenous activists working for First Amendment protections (Dussais 1997). The Peace Policy can be seen as an act which allotted proprietary rights on indigenous souls to Christian denominations willing to run schools and missions in indigenous communities.

One of the advantages of using missionaries to assimilate indigenous groups was that they localized their efforts and thus avoided essentializing them in the same ways the government did (Pels 1997:172). Missionaries were more likely to be successful with indigenous groups because of their proximity and specific knowledge of each group’s unique cosmology, lifeways and language. In

this way, the government could achieve its objective of Christianizing, and thus “civilizing”, the indigenous population without having to learn much about them in the process. Legislation such as the Peace Policy allowed the government of the United States to specifically target indigenous groups on the basis of their religion, “deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part” (OHCHR 1948:Article II C). The targets of this genocidal violence were further marginalized and essentialized by the use of missionaries instead of direct government agents because the missionaries acted as the intermediaries for communication with the government.

The BIC had as its specific intent the physical destruction of indigenous peoples as a religious group. The system of laws designed to protect the religious freedoms of United States citizens simply did not apply to indigenous Americans. Dussais found that courts consistently undermined indigenous people’s rights to religion, focusing on the government’s duty to rescue them from “lives of savagery and barbarism”, as one judge put it in 1887, through Christian education (Dussais 1997:774).

Criticism for the Peace Policy grew as relations with indigenous Americans deteriorated and the “Indian Wars” continued to drag on (Dussais 1997:782-785). With the assassination of President Garfield in 1881 and the ascension of Chester A. Arthur came the end of the Peace Policy and a shift toward military control through the use of law. Christianity remained prominent in indigenous education programs, but government funding for such programs steadily declined as energies were re-directed toward the enforcement of private property law and bans on “heathenish” behavior in order to advance assimilation objectives (Dussais 1997:789-790).

The most visible of these “heathenish” practices was the dance, often part of a ceremony during which material goods were redistributed. These religious ceremonies were threatening to the “civilization” project in very tangible ways; they took time away from farming, schooling, and missionary interaction (Dussais 1997:790). Dances were actively targeted by agents of the Bureau of Indigenous Affairs which attempted to shut down, delay or otherwise subvert such activities. Rumors, misunderstandings and outright lies were spread about the moral character of the dances themselves. Beyond sexual impropriety, the Ghost Dance (one of the early expressions of the indigenous solidarity movement) specifically was dogged by rumors of increasing indigenous militancy, rumors which culminated in the massacre of unarmed women and children at Wounded Knee (Dussais 1997:795). Dussais found that even into the 1920s, repression of religious practices continued with the demonization and eventual banning of the Pueblo Dance in the Southwest (for more, see Dussais 1997: 801-805).

Ethnic Heritage as Central Target

The focus of governmental energy toward the eradication of indigenous peoples was less about religion than it was about lifeways, though many would argue that for indigenous peoples, the two are inseparable (Dussais 1997, Deloria and Lytle 1984, Johansen and Maestas 1979). From the point of view of the United States, indigenous cosmology was almost incomprehensible, and the distinction between religious and secular life for European Americans was very plain. As has been stated previously, the overarching goals of indigenous genocide were the acquisition of land and resources. The lifeways of indigenous peoples that proved to be substantial challenges to that acquisition were directly targeted by agents of the government through national mandates. The specific policy of supporting American citizens in expediting the elimination of bison from the prairie lands of the west can be seen as a direct example of this (see Meyer 1971:34). In effect, indigenous

peoples were targeted as ethnic groups because their lifeways were inconsistent with the desires of the United States government.

Indigenous peoples were cast as backwards, savage and in need of salvation by European Americans. The dichotomy of civilized versus uncivilized served three main functions: it explained and supported the perceived difference between Euro-American and indigenous cultures; it legitimized the relationship of control and hegemony that the United States maintained; and it instructed European Americans on their duty to fundamentally change indigenous peoples until they were unrecognizable as such (Adams 1995:12-13). Lewis Henry Morgan's book, *Ancient Society: Or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization* (1877), further legitimized the classification of indigenous nations as uncivilized. His definition of civilization was founded on principles that put it at odds with many indigenous societies- principles which extolled the virtues of private property (Adams 1995:14).

A major goal of education for indigenous youth was instilling the basic Euro-American values of Christian Protestantism, namely private property and the value of the individual as demonstrated through labor. These, of course, were anathema to many tribal lifeways. "Re"-education programs underwent a series of changes from the 1860s through the 1920s in an attempt to increase their effectiveness in assimilating youth away from the tribes. Starting as reservation day schools, educational institutions quickly transformed into boarding schools, then again to off-reservation boarding schools. These changes were made for the same reasons- the policy's "failure to exert sufficient influence over the children's minds" (Adams 1995:28-31).

Schools were theorized to be the most effective agents of "civilization" and also the most efficient. Schooling, it was argued, would allow indigenous peoples to skip all the stages of social

evolution between savagism and civilization, as defined by Morgan (see Adams 1995:14), in a single generation. Adults were deemed a lost cause by many reformers, but young children were not so steeped in their “savage ways”, and thus offered hope for “rehabilitation” (Adams 1995:18-20).

Schools began as voluntary opportunities for children to learn to read and write, but as the bureaucracy of indigenous education grew, so did Congressional oversight and demands for assimilation. In 1893, Congress authorized the Office of Indian Affairs to “withhold rations, clothing and other annuities from Indian parents or guardians who refuse or neglect to send and keep their children of proper school age in some school a reasonable portion of each year” (Adams 1995:63). These actions clearly fall under Article II of the Genocide Convention: “(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group” (OHCHR 1948). While there would not be sufficient facilities to actually enforce total compulsory school attendance until the twentieth century, the decree did provide a legal basis for agencies to utilize reservation police to fill schools that had extra space.

Off-reservation boarding schools were outside of indigenous lands, located often in or near European American towns. Students were not allowed to visit their families during the summer months for fear that they would forget all they had been taught. In 1882, the *Atlantic Monthly* ran an article on indigenous education, suggesting “The kind of education they are in need of is one that will habituate them to the customs and advantages of civilized life, ... and at the same time cause them to look with feelings of repugnance on their native state” (Adams 1995:21). In order to accomplish these shifts of attitude, they needed to forget about their traditions and families and adopt a reverence for Euro-American science, industry and cosmology.

Simply moving students away from their homes and tribes was not enough; they needed to be physically transformed as well. Actions such as the cutting of long hair, the adoption of uniforms,

the renaming of students and disallowing indigenous language all demonstrated a desire beyond education and cleanliness and towards assimilation and control (Adams 1995:101-112, 123).

Schools were often organized like military camps. Children engaged in drilling and marching, as well as learning and living. The military training was in itself a method of assimilation to the Euro-American conception of time, deemed a necessary element of indigenous re-education to move them further from behavior classified as laziness or wastefulness (Adams 1995:120). Children were often punished severely for obstinance and defiance. Though corporal punishment was banned by the Office of Indian Affairs except in extreme circumstances, abuse was widely reported (Adams 1995:122-123). By removing them physically from their environment, drastically changing their appearance and compelling them to use different names and speak a different language, agents of the United States government were destroying children's indigenous ethnic and religious identities as a matter of policy. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs William Jones made clear his intention for his wards: "To educate the Indian in the ways of civilized life, ... is to preserve him from extinction, not as an Indian, but as a human being" (Adams 1995:21).

There have also been reports surfacing more frequently in the last few decades of significant sexual abuse of children in boarding schools (see Adams 1995). Sexual abuse is often about asserting dominance rather than attaining sexual gratification, and the victim is often left feeling powerless and subordinate to the perpetrator (Smith 2004:167). It can be argued that while the sexual abuse was not likely to have been policy, it certainly was concomitant with the process of destroying the group through humiliation and dishonor.

Philanthropic Genocide- Helping As Hurting

Support for indigenous Americans by European Americans has historically meant “helping” them become less and less “Indian”, not helping them be themselves within the colonial culture. Humanitarian action done on behalf of indigenous Americans often maintained an undercurrent of genocidal intentions, simply masked in the language of “incorporation” (Deloria 1998:104). The publishing of *A Century of Dishonor* in 1880 laid bare the terrible treatment of indigenous Americans in the first century of the United States. However, the book advocated, as a shift away from this policy, that indigenous peoples be brought *into* the system which had subjugated them so mercilessly. In effect, it argued for the replacement of one form of destruction for another. It pushed for expansion of assimilative education and the introduction of land reform tantamount to making European farmers out of indigenous peoples. That publication was used as a component of the justification for the Dawes, or Allotment, Act of 1887 (Johansen and Maestas 1979:30).

In the Dawes Act, Congress’ attitude was that indigenous peoples were not using their land properly, which according to Deloria meant not using it as outlined in the biblical book of Genesis (Deloria 1988:45). Congress’ definition required that each family own its own plot of land and work it to produce food for themselves. Allotment was proclaimed a humanitarian act designed to “educate” indigenous people and “help” them become part of the private property system, all the while encouraging settlers to buy up the surplus (Johansen and Maestas 1979:30).

The United States government consistently suppressed the basic rights of indigenous Americans for the purpose of assimilating them and destroying their cultures and beliefs. Even the laws of the United States specifically designed to prevent religious tyranny were subverted, in part due to the difficulty for comparison between European American and indigenous American belief

systems and the indefinite line between “religion” and “culture” (Dussais 1997:806-820). Some of those actions fit directly into the crimes listed in the Genocide Convention under Article II, while others merely display the United States’ intent to destroy indigenous lifeways.

Why It Must be Genocide

The point of viewing indigenous experiences in the United States through the lens of genocide is not to bring legal charges against the government but to highlight the plight of indigenous representation in government-funded education. Given the standards set by Washington State for public education outlined in Chapter 1, curriculum regarding various indigenous peoples of America is required to make a case for genocide, at least as perceived by indigenous peoples. History textbooks for elementary and middle schools typically spend an entire chapter on “explorers of the New World”, yet rarely do they mention their intent for exploration. Historians have very clearly identified the true purposes behind voyages to the Americas (Loewen 1995, Weatherford 1990), but the facts of theft, murder, slavery and rape against indigenous peoples are almost ubiquitously absent in history textbooks.

These omissions are significant because children in American schools learn of the “discovery” of indigenous peoples and the expansion of the United States, but critical analysis of the destruction of indigenous peoples on whose land this nation was built is consistently absent. To deny a history of genocide is to legitimize it; to hide the intention of genocide is to support it. Without holistic representation, oppression of indigenous Americans can be normalized and made invisible.

Chapter 3: Appropriate Genocide Education

In order to adequately approach the concept of genocide, it must be explicitly defined and potential instances of genocidal violence must be held up against that definition (see Chapter 1).

The Washington State education standards have identified the United Nations' Genocide Convention as their standard definition for public school education around the topic (OSPI 2008).

This necessitates the application of the United Nations' definition to historical topics which are to be viewed through the lens of genocide, such as the perspectives of indigenous Americans (see Chapter 2). Beyond the inclusion of genocide's legal definition, significant educational scholarship around teaching genocide has been developed, identifying best practices for adequate, responsible teaching and effective curriculum design.

David Lindquist (2006), an associate professor at the School of Education at Indiana University-Purdue University, Fort Wayne, has written an article for teachers outlining basic guidelines for teaching the Holocaust, drawing on the research of a variety of education and genocide scholars. His work will provide the basic framework for my analysis of genocide education generally, as his suggestions can be extended beyond the Holocaust to all genocidal violence. I have grouped his eight points into four categories of scholarship around genocide education, each of which will be reviewed: the use of narrative; the use of images; the risk of over-simplification; and the necessity of inclusion of other genocides, specifically the experiences of indigenous Americans.

The Use of Narrative

The first and strongest of Lindquist's recommendations for responsible genocide education was the inclusion of a variety of survivor narratives alongside statistics, numbers and facts. He argued that students could both lose sight of the victims and become vulnerable to denialist rhetoric

without stories of and by survivors. The massive scale of the Holocaust is incomprehensible to adults, let alone students, and therefore can lead to a detachment from “the ‘personal’ and the ‘particular’” (Totten 1987:63). In order to counteract the focus on scale and breadth of the genocide, individual narratives must be brought in to ground the crimes in lived human experiences. The nature of the crime of genocide itself suggests that the identity of the victims is more important than the numbers of killed or displaced (see Chapter 1).

Teachers across various disciplines and grade levels have found first-hand that narratives engage their students in a way that facts and numbers do not (Bar On 2002, Abowitz 2000, Drew 1991). Public school teachers, librarians and even college professors have struggled to capture the interest and imagination of their students when discussing genocide. Often, the materials at their disposal emphasized a historical perspective focused on the choices and actions of nations, not individuals. This focus left students at an emotional distance from the material, a distance that educators to this day struggle to reduce.

Margaret Drew (1991), a school librarian in Brookline, Massachusetts, reflected in an article aimed at teachers on the value of utilizing narrative texts in order to humanize the Holocaust and other acts of genocide. Her focus was how to engage students critically with the subject matter; she found that was possible through the use of narratives that told an individual’s story and supplemented the fact-heavy history curriculum. She extended her examination of genocide to Cambodia, Turkey and African-American slavery in addition to the European Holocaust, but made reference only in passing to relations between European Americans and indigenous peoples.

Narrative has a second benefit in that it allows for the particular to be generalized; victims of genocide have more in common than not, and narrative can help to draw parallels between

genocides as well. Bat-Ami Bar On (2002) asserted from her own experience teaching about genocide that students who receive information in the less critical atmosphere of “facts” were more likely to display what she called “defensive inattention”. She challenged the use of academic textual materials in education because the perspective of the author could disrupt access to emotional engagement with the material. She proffered that viewing the Holocaust as a unique event inhibited understanding and critical engagement with the universal human experience of genocide. Deborah Abowitz (2000) described her experiences designing two courses focused on genocide and how the sociological perspective was helpful in turning the historical “facts” into an emotional student experience with profound impact. She suggested that Holocaust scholarship was dominated by historians and psychologists who were ill equipped to deconstruct genocidal events in order to elucidate the precipitating factors in the perpetrating population which could be generalized beyond historical specificity.

Narrative and storytelling have recently become a focus of educators seeking to engage students in critical thinking and personal reflection generally. Greg Sarris’s work (1990) on the effect of stories in bringing about “critical discourse” (1990:184) demonstrated storytelling’s ability to engage culturally diverse students and challenge their unrecognized biases. Phil Venditti and Sally Gove (2010) from Clover Park Technical College in Washington State have recently developed a project called Good Stories for Good Learning, exploring the ways that story telling affects students’ engagement with material and their ability to learn.

Other educators have focused on the use of survivor art to access an emotional space for the discussion of genocide. Nancy Gorrell (1997), a high school English teacher, reflected on her experience teaching about the Holocaust during the first year it was required content in the New Jersey public schools. She used the striking images painted by Robert O. Fisch, author of *Light from*

the Yellow Star: A Lesson of Love from the Holocaust, himself a survivor, to reduce the emotional distance between her students and the victims of the Holocaust. Karen Wink (2006) used survivor poetry to challenge student apathy and arouse a more visceral, deeper response to the atrocities of the Holocaust. She suggested that to engage students in emotionally challenging issues, the material itself must be emotionally engaging. By offering a vulnerable piece of her own writing from a trip to a concentration camp, she was able to challenge her students to risk more in their writing. "A certain amount of discomfort is necessary for learning ...[one needs] to move through, rather than around, the feeling. This is the valuable teaching of the courageous unsung heroes of the Holocaust" (Wink 2006:89). Scholars recognize that narrative and personal experience are valuable tools for engaging students in meaningful genocide studies.

The Use of Images

Lindquist offered a strong warning, however, to use carefully and responsibly any images of genocide. The tendency, he argued, is to use grotesque images of tortured and mangled bodies to shock students out of apathy and into awareness of the reality of the crimes of genocide (2006:219). He suggested that this is wholly inappropriate on both ethical and practical grounds. For one, the dead are being exploited to substitute for effective teaching. For another, students are often psychologically unprepared to be confronted with such troubling images, and their emotional wellbeing may be threatened by over-exposure to images of violence. Lindquist did not, however, suggest that images of atrocity be omitted; they have their place in genocide education, but not without appropriate framing.

Susan Sontag (2003) argued that the notion of atrocity itself carries with it the expectation of photographic evidence, and therefore to omit such images could itself be construed as denial.

That being said, images do not explain anything; images call us as viewers to feel. They wait to be explained by their captions and their associated text. Sontag argued that images of the Holocaust are often designed to re-invent the crimes for the viewer. They are used to tell stories, both of loss and of survival, but without well-constructed narratives, they cannot help the viewer understand. They are invitations to reflect on human suffering and the explanations that are provided by authority for that suffering. They are a necessary part of understanding atrocity but are not a solution in themselves.

Louis Masur (1998), in his analysis of the use of images in American history textbooks, concluded that while images are frequently used in textbooks, they are often handled inappropriately. The most common way for an image to be used was for it to act as a direct illustration of points made in the text. Masur discussed how textbooks' authors time and again refused to discuss the effect that paintings, lithographs, carvings and photographs had on the course of history. He paralleled Sontag in his discussion of the bias of photographs and their need for explanation. Due to the highly visual orientation of American culture at the time of his study, which I would argue has only increased since his article was published, "events are comprehended through pictures while pictures simultaneously constitute events" (Masur 1998:1422). Each image has the ability to become the symbolic representation of a particular event or period of history, yet each and every image is but a piece of that history, carrying its own perspective and bias. Any use of images must be done purposefully and in a historically relevant way in order to be responsible and effective.

The Risk of Over-Simplification

One of the greatest challenges for a teacher attempting to address issues of genocide in the classroom is the risk of over-simplifying the crimes or the events in which they are couched.

Lindquist (2006) specifically addressed the dangers associated with the use of simulations to encapsulate experiences and mundane activities to teach the facts. He also addressed the appropriate age range at which to start teaching about genocide to ensure that enough complexity can be retained in the subject matter.

When analyzing teaching materials popularly used in Holocaust education, Lindquist found that often the subject was treated much the same in history textbooks as other subjects. The gravity and magnitude of the Holocaust was addressed with low-order critical thinking questions and fill-in-the-blank worksheets. Again, he emphasized how a focus on learning the facts leads to a disengagement and trivialization of the subject. He and others believe that there is a certain element of the unknowable, what Elie Wiesel calls “the ultimate mystery, never to be comprehended or transmitted” (Roth and Berenbaum 1989:3), that students need to understand about the Holocaust, and that space for confusion and questioning need to be made, space not often present in history curricula.

Lindquist advocated against the use of role-play to help students comprehend the Holocaust. Again, the desire cited by educators was to make the learning experience more “real” for the students. In order to achieve the reduction of emotional distance between students and the subject, some educators have tried to use simulations to impart empathy for the victims of the Holocaust onto their students. Totten (2000) argued that classroom simulations of the Holocaust experience in fact do a disservice to the subject, the students and the memory of the Holocaust. He suggested

that simulations do more to trivialize the Holocaust because no activities could truly recreate the emotions and pain of the victims, and that it is dangerous to give students the idea that they understand even a small portion of the suffering perpetrated by the Nazi regime. There are two major fears inherent in Totten's critique. The first is the fear that the role-plays will amount to little more than play time for students and squander already limited time devoted in classrooms to the Holocaust. The second fear is that it will unduly simplify the experiences of the victims. If simulations give students the impression that they fully grasp the trauma and grief of victims of the Holocaust, Totten argued they might find it easier to believe that there is an element of truth to some of the revisionist histories which attempt to diminish the Holocaust (such as Harwood 1974). Again, the argument for the inclusion of survivors' stories was central. Totten suggested that accounts written by survivors constituted much more appropriate methods of transmitting those experiences, while allowing for more relevant discussion and focused attention on the part of the students.

While other scholars have justified the teaching of concepts of genocide to elementary-aged youth (see Sepinwall 1999), Totten (1999a) advocated that students be introduced to this information when they are developmentally ready to comprehend the scale and ramifications of the situation, which he believed to be well into middle school for most students. The risk is the same: to teach the Holocaust, or by extension any genocide, to elementary school-age youth requires that the information be diluted in order to be emotionally responsible as well as intellectually accessible. If the goals of genocide education are consistent for all students, then a basic grounding in the facts at a young age is pointless without the emotional and ethical aspects of the genocide- aspects which, according to Totten, are developmentally inappropriate for young children.

Another risk in genocide education that Lindquist did not address is the risk of oversimplifying the crime of genocide itself. Bischoff and Kalmin (1999) conducted a phone survey of a random sample of Americans to determine if the general public felt that the Holocaust could be compared to other acts in history. Their findings suggested that the majority of people, while having a familiarity with the word genocide, did not understand the significance of being “committed with *intent to destroy*, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group” [emphasis added]. They found that many readily compared the Holocaust to acts of war, ethno-religious violence and racial tensions. Ethnoreligious violence, racial tensions and other acts of war may precede genocide and may support a genocidal ideology, but they themselves do not amount to genocide. The lack of specific knowledge about the crime of genocide (see Chapter 1) within wider society is a challenge which comparative genocide education, like that prescribed in the GLEs, is designed to overcome.

Inclusion of Indigenous Experiences as Imperative

Here Lindquist’s eight recommendations, all of which are focused on Holocaust education, must be extrapolated out from the specifics he provided. Based on his arguments, I believe a strong case is made for the inclusion of the genocide against indigenous Americans in the broader discourse. His two most relevant arguments are as follows: 1) the study of the Holocaust is inherently controversial and 2) the Holocaust itself must be viewed within its larger historical framework. This section will expand on those two points, then explore the ways they lend credibility to the need for a genocide lens to be applied to indigenous experiences in the educational setting.

Lindquist drew on a number of scholars who discussed their experiences attempting to integrate Holocaust education into their K-12 and university curriculums. The challenges they faced

revolved around the controversial nature of certain subtopics within Holocaust studies (e.g., the role of bystander nations, the role of religious institutions), as well as perceived biases from the school communities against teachers and administrators who attempted to add Holocaust studies to the curriculum. His conclusion was that teachers must be willing to embrace controversy and use it as a learning tool in their classrooms. He went so far as to suggest that it “g[ives] students valuable experience in the practice of living in a democratic society” (Lindquist 2006:218).

This justification for teaching the Holocaust can be directly applied to the teaching of the indigenous American genocide. Grande (2004) suggested that the unwillingness of the educational system of the United States to honestly address the crimes committed against indigenous Americans was rooted in the inherent challenges those crimes posed to the fundamental mythology of American democracy. She asked, “How can America stand with its feet on the corpses of American Indians?” (2004:31). Indeed, many of the basic tenants of American human rights, which largely focus on individual and property rights (Elias 1986:196-200), are challenged by the criminal theft, expulsion and massacre of indigenous peoples. If social studies teachers are to be encouraged to engage in controversy, as Lindquist suggested (2006:218), Grande made clear that a greater controversy could hardly be found for American students.

The second argument Lindquist made that can be related to the teaching of indigenous American genocide was that in order to effectively teach students about the Holocaust, it must be situated within the historical framework of the Second World War. His argument was that without understanding the social conditions surrounding the Holocaust (such as the normalization of death, the fear of the enemy and the mobilization of the military), students would be ill-equipped to grapple with the realities of the genocide in Europe. In history classes, students learn about the founding of America through the spread of colonists and the expansion of American territory. This

historical framework, within which the genocide against indigenous Americans occurred, cannot be fully understood without the indigenous perspective. The expansion of the United States cannot be understood without the oppression of indigenous Americans, just as the Holocaust cannot be understood without the framework of World War II.

He added that trends in scientific and political thought were also vital for students to understand in order to adequately approach the subject. I would further suggest that if students do not understand the historical antecedents to the Holocaust, they cannot comprehend how such a crime could be possible, in the past as well as the future. This principle also applies directly to the subject of indigenous American genocide.

Scholar Lilian Friedberg (2000) has written on the necessity to move beyond the “uniqueness” of the Holocaust, or of any genocide, because it limits one’s ability to see the connections and related trends that have led to those atrocities. She argued that the belief that the Holocaust was such a unique historical event that it cannot be adequately compared to any other event in history (see Katz 1994) inhibited both holistic scholarship on genocide and “our collective comprehension of genocide as a phenomenon of Western ‘civilization’, not as a reiterative series of historical events, each in its own way ‘unique’” (Friedberg 2000:368). She contended that using the historical lens to compare the Holocaust and the American genocide drew more parallels than distinctions, and the genocide against indigenous Americans was foundational in understanding genocidal violence globally.

Friedberg further argued that the discourse on indigenous Americans had sought to “historicize” their experiences of genocide in order to “normalize” the status quo of the present. While this has become acceptable in academic circles regarding the United States, attempts to do

this with Germany's genocidal past have been met with strong academic opposition (see Piper 1993). She advocated for the "de-manifestation" (2000:364-5) of the curriculum on indigenous American history because, in her view, the dynamic between the United States government and indigenous peoples was an early expression of the cultural supremacy narrative that has been retold again and again in the global post-colonial world. In essence, she saw the American genocide as a case study for genocide globally.

Lindquist's focus on trends in science and political philosophy also has applications in the study of indigenous genocide. Sandy Grande (2004) has written about the criminal treatment of indigenous Americans as a necessary precursor to the establishment of the United States and the ways in which their treatment had been legitimized through the sanitization of K-12 education curricula. She addressed the roots of nationalism and acculturation that constituted a key foundation in American public education and which have been supported and reaffirmed by educational philosophers such as John Dewey (1899), the father of US public education. Joel Spring's *Deculturalization and the Struggle for Equality*, 4th ed. (2004) illuminated the targeted use of those ethnocentric philosophies against indigenous Americans in government-sponsored indigenous education efforts. Those philosophies help to contextualize the genocidal aspects of compulsory education used against indigenous Americans (see Chapter 2).

Those philosophies and historical circumstances play a vital role in understanding the present as well as the past. By obfuscating the context of indigenous and European American interaction, educational institutions continue to level blame for the disenfranchisement of indigenous Americans on the people themselves. Textbooks readily obscure causation, argued James Loewen, and "the optimistic approach [of textbooks towards success] prevents any understanding of failure other than blaming the victim" (1995:14). Indigenous Americans across the

country consistently feel the effects of “anti-Indian” prejudice due in large part to fundamental misunderstandings about indigenous sovereignty and treaty rights (Perry 2008). Indigenous sovereignty is integral to lived indigenous identity and links indigenous histories to contemporary experiences. Grande argued that it is imperative to teach about indigenous sovereignty in public educational settings, and further that sovereignty and American democracy are not, contrary to popular belief, in conflict with one another. Education, she argued, is the collective space for constructing understandings of democracy and the nation-state (2004:32), a belief Lindquist has echoed. Without adequate inclusion of the uniqueness of indigenous sovereignty and the repeated violations and challenges to it by the United States government, the lived experience of indigenous Americans in the past as well as the present can hardly be understood by non-indigenous Americans.

This focus is made further necessary when considering the historically inadequate representation of indigenous peoples and their histories. Verna Kirkness (1977) wrote a scathing review of Canadian textbooks on their inclusion of indigenous peoples, compiling previous research from the sixties and seventies. Her conclusions pointed to a continuation of textbook prejudice, though it had become more subtle over time, yet consistently indigenous peoples “by far, received the worst treatment in textbooks of any class of minority, either by omission or commission” (1977:600). She drew upon research employing content analysis on both positive and negative terms applied to “Indians” and Europeans and biases in the perspectives of authors evident in text narrative.

This problem is pervasive in the United States as well, at all levels of education. James Loewen’s seminal work, *Lies My Teacher Told Me* (1995), provided a litany of examples of omissions and commissions by high school history textbooks which strongly biased educational outcomes against indigenous Americans. Not only were the profound effects of the expanding United States

on indigenous nations downplayed, but the contributions of indigenous peoples to the development of the United States were often omitted (Loewen 1995:110-113). The cumulative effect is that students are not encouraged to understand the perspective of indigenous peoples facing the ever-expanding United States, a perspective that is specifically included in the EALRs (see Chapter 1).

Often, teachers will be responsible for creating human rights curriculum themselves when they recognize the startling lack of appropriate materials in their own classrooms. Denise Shaffer (1993), a kindergarten teacher in Indiana, Pennsylvania, observed that her curriculum about the Thanksgiving holiday was out of touch with the lived historical experience of Native Americans. She developed suggestions for not only broadening and deepening the curriculum, but also how to incorporate critical pedagogy and basic concepts of human rights through text analysis, comparison and role-play. It comes as little surprise that her suggestions are not fully in line with Lindquist's recommendations, given that the professionally produced materials on indigenous peoples refuse to acknowledge their oppression. The burden of creating adequate educational materials is inappropriate to place on classroom teachers who cannot be expected to have scholarly backgrounds in all the subjects they are expected to teach. The materials they work with must be held to high professional standards so that all teachers will be able to provide appropriate and responsible general education about indigenous peoples, as well as genocide education at the appropriate levels.

Based on the relevant research, effective and responsible genocide education combines two major themes: (1) genocide as a well-defined, specific crime under international law; and (2) genocide as a direct assault on and denial of the diversity of humanity. These two topical areas are quite distinct and have as their aims quite different learning objectives, but both are fundamental for the understanding of genocidal violence. Without the former, there is no unified definition or

international consensus around genocide as a crime against all of humanity, as well as no international mandate to respond to genocide. Without the latter, there is no direct human-to-human connection, and the information can numb rather than enlighten. These two lenses constitute the focus of the following analysis of textbooks addressing genocide education in Whatcom County public schools.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This study was based in Whatcom County for two main reasons. First, within 50 miles of Whatcom County's borders, there are eight federally recognized and two non-federally recognized tribes (Governor's Office of Indian Affairs 2010), making the subject of indigenous American history immediately relevant to the lives of students in Whatcom County. The proximity of tribal groups to Whatcom County makes the likelihood of students, parents, teachers and/or administrators having some affiliation with indigenous communities high. Second, Whatcom County is home to one of the premier colleges in the state for teacher education, Woodring College of Education at Western Washington University. These two factors, when taken together, suggest that the educational materials in Whatcom County used to represent indigenous perspectives: 1) have a high likelihood of significantly affecting the outlook of students on their own communities; and 2) are more likely to be held to a high standard because of the status of the academic institution in the county which certified 280 public-school teachers in the 2008-2009 academic year (Western Washington University 2009).

This study specifically focuses on textbooks because they comprise the baseline for history education (see Loewen 1995). Teachers often rely heavily on textbooks for content in their history classes, especially if they have little content-specific background. Textbooks are ubiquitous, and the study of them in Whatcom County has much wider ramifications than studying individual teaching practices because of the standardization and distribution of textbooks across the nation.

Textbooks are composed of two basic elements- text and images. Often they work to support each other while they may also be used alone. Therefore, they deserve to be analyzed independently as well as in relation to each other. In the educational context, images have been

recognized as having profound impact on learning (see Chapter 3), and thus they receive specialized attention. This paper draws on two types of analysis in order to achieve adequate and balanced coverage of the contents of textbooks: content analysis of the text itself and the relationship between the text and associated images; and semiotic analysis of selected images which are illustrative of consistent themes.

Content Analysis I- Viewing the Text

My codebook for the content analysis of the text is separated into two parts as defined in the conclusion of Chapter 3. Effective genocide education must: 1) define and describe acts of genocide consistent with the legal definition provided by the United Nations; and 2) present acts of genocide as attempts to nullify human diversity. Both of these concepts have been explored in Chapter 1 and 3, respectively; here they will be explicitly defined in terms of textual elements that constitute representation of those elements.

Part One: Genocide as a Crime

The concept of genocide, established in Chapter 1, is multi-faceted and often subtle. In order to code a text for adequate representation of the subtleties included in genocide, I have created a coding set which addresses the three aspects of genocide as defined by the United Nations Genocide Convention (OHCHR 1948). As discussed in Chapter 1, genocide requires that a group: be defined in a certain way in order to be considered by the convention; have certain types of acts committed against it; *and* those acts be committed with the intent to destroy that group, either totally or partially. The first section of my codebook breaks this definition into two main components: the beliefs and values of the perpetrators, which includes their intent to destroy; and

the perpetrators' attempts to construct the victims as an identifiable group separate from themselves.

In order for acts of violence to be considered genocidal, the perspective of the perpetrator must be genocidal. In order to adequately make a case for genocide against a perpetrator, their views and beliefs about the victim group must be understood. Two major subtopics under this heading are popular sentiment within the perpetrator population and the structural organization of that population. Popular sentiment can be directly represented in textbooks through: contemporary propaganda circulated amongst the population (including posters, leaflets, advertisements, and images); and quotes from the perpetrator population regarding the victim population. These may be directly represented, as in the inclusion of a reproduction of an advertisement, or discussed generally in the text. Quotes, however, were only counted if they were direct, as they carry more weight and are more historically relevant.

The structural organization of the perpetrator population is more nuanced in its manifestations of genocidal attitudes. The two main sub-topics involved are: 1) the funding and support of genocidaires by the government of the perpetrating population; and 2) the deployment of armed groups on behalf of the government and the consequences of those deployments. Funding and support of genocidaires can be represented in textbooks through discussions of perpetrator-sponsored NGOs and militias carrying out oppression, amnesty for military officers committing genocide and laws making genocidal acts legal, compulsory and/or profitable for the perpetrator population. Deployment and its consequences were counted through representation of: direct orders to commit genocidal acts as defined by the Genocide Convention; rapprochement or praise of genocidaires by their superiors or the wider perpetrator population for their genocidal acts;

descriptions of armed engagements and/or acts of violence; and implicit support by the genocidal government of NGOs' illegal activities.

The other component of this section of my codebook involves the attempts by the perpetrators to construct an identity for the victims consistent with the Genocide Convention. There are two main subcategories that textbooks could include in order to address this component of the definition of genocide: 1) the relationship between the perpetrators' beliefs and values and the group identity of the victims; and 2) the laws imposed by the perpetrators to control the victim group. The first demonstrates how the views of the perpetrator population lend themselves to the classification of individuals as part of a group to be targeted. The second focuses specifically on structural power used to define and distinguish the victim population from the perpetrator population.

The relationship between beliefs of the perpetrators and the identity of the victims is critical in understanding how and why the victims were targeted. I coded for the inclusion of two main manifestations of this relationship: the history of interaction and conflict between the two groups; and the benefits to the perpetrators for their oppression of the victims. These address both the historical factors associated with the labeling as well as the contemporary benefits to making that distinction.

Laws, often created and used by the majority against the minority (Elias 1986), represent the institutional process of distinguishing the perpetrators from the victims and legitimizing their oppression. The codebook recognized three categories of legal actions against the victim groups: forced removal, concentration, and/or segregation of the victim population, either away from the rest of the population or away from their homelands; the specific modification of victims' rights

and/or responsibilities; and forced conformity with and/or identification of the victim population to visibly distinguish them from the rest of the population.

Part Two: Genocide as an Assault on Human Diversity

This lens of analysis focuses on the people that were targeted for destruction. In order to adequately capture the experience of genocide by a victim population, they must be seen as multifaceted, complex people both before and after the genocide. Their experiences of persecution are also important to analyze; without considering their point of view, the perpetrators are allowed to frame and define the experiences of their victims, which will no doubt be minimized. Part Two of my codebook is separated into three categories, each representing one of those three phases of victim experiences.

The first section, focused on the identities of the victim groups prior to the onset of genocidal persecution, codes for the presence of basic information about the groups in the text. In this section, I am coding for inclusion of: relevant history and/or context regarding the groups; specific names for the groups; specific individuals being named; groups being located geographically; identity-performing rituals being discussed; and subsistence practices identified. These pieces of information allow the victim groups to be contextualized and seen as more than merely how the perpetrators identified them.

The second section has been designed to code for the continuance of the victim population beyond the period of genocide, transforming them from victims into survivors. This section is valuable in that it focuses on the strength of the survivors and the failure of the perpetrators to complete their genocidal aims. I coded for inclusion of: resurgence movements after the end of

hostilities; reclamation efforts and protests focused around stolen land and/or property; and the development or reorganization of political and social structures related to the survivors' identities.

The final section focuses on the direct experiences of the victims at the hands of the perpetrators. This section is vital for two main reasons. First, it allows the victims to define their own struggles instead of the perpetrators defining them. Secondly, it humanizes their oppression and encourages empathy and compassion. Without this perspective, the allure of power and control has the opportunity to dominate the conversation about acts of genocide. I coded for the presence of: emotional reactions to persecution; victim resistance against oppression; social structure adjustments throughout the conflict; geographic adjustments during the conflict; and quotes from the victims themselves about their experiences.

While coding the text for the presence or absence of concepts, I also coded it for the recurrence of loaded or emotionally charged words and phrases. Kirkness (1977) found significant discrepancies in the adjectives used to describe indigenous peoples and Europeans in the textbooks from the sixties and seventies she analyzed. I was curious to see if her findings would apply to current textbooks and if there would be significant differences between the language used to describe victims of the Holocaust as a group and victims of westward expansion as a comparative group. As I coded texts, I kept a running tally of the use of certain words, adding new words as I found them. At the conclusion of my research, this list contained over 1,167 words and phrases, some of which were repeated for victims and perpetrators of both genocides. The overall pattern of language use in reference to the genocides is significant in that loaded words, like images, carry emotional weight beyond the facts and call the reader to feel along with the subject.

Content Analysis II- Reading the Images

The focus of this thesis is on the representation of victims of genocide, and thus my analysis of images used in textbooks does not include images of perpetrators of genocide except when pictured with their victims. In Chapter 3, I discussed the relationship between effective genocide education and the use of images. Images have taken a central role in history education, especially given the exalted status of textbooks in contemporary history education (see Loewen 1995). The images and their related text were coded separately from the content analysis of the text because of the crucial relationship between images and text. Images require text in order to be understood. As Susan Sontag writes, “[a]ll images wait to be explained or falsified” (2003:10), either by captions or associated text.

There are three distinguishable components to images in textbooks: the images themselves; the captions used to specifically explain them; and the text in which they are couched which they reference or which references them. Each component was coded for the presence or absence of particular information related to the image. The captions of each image were coded for their inclusion of basic information: if it was an image of a person or an object; the name of the person(s) depicted; the group to which that person or item belongs; the name(s) of any perpetrator(s) included in the image; the name of the image’s artist or photographer; the image’s date; irrelevant information or information unrelated to the image; whether the caption focuses on the perpetrator or the victim; the name of the event or historical moment depicted; and any encouragement of critical analysis of the image or the situation depicted.

The text in the books was coded twice- once for its content generally, and again for its content as it related to each of the images included in the books. The text that related directly to

the image, which often was not on the same page as the image itself, was coded separately from the caption with a different set of codes. The related text has more opportunity to provide information because it is not constrained by space in the same way that captions are, and its function is to deepen understanding, not just to label an image. The text was coded for its inclusion of: representation of the agency of the perpetrators or the victims; passive language; provenience; information on the significance of the individual depicted; quotes from victims involved; information that extends the victim group's history beyond their experience of oppression; descriptions of injustice; any information that contradicts the caption or fails to reference information provided in the caption; or if there simply is no text that relates to or references the image in question.

Semiotic Analysis- Images that Speak

I drew on semiotic analysis in my study to round out the quantitative sets of data. Semiotic analysis is well-suited to the analysis of images because of its ability to reveal some of the more subtle aspects of images and address their emotional character. Semiotics suggests that images can be “read” like texts for dominant meanings that convey significant information about their subjects that is not directly represented. Semiotic analysis tends toward subjectivity if not grounded in quantitative data which is why it is the smallest of my data sets, yet it also ends up being the most striking. This can be understood in the context of the earlier discussion of images in Chapter 3.

Chapter 5: Findings

Terms

The terms associated with both perpetrators and victims of the two genocides in this study were collected under four categories for both victims and perpetrators: terms used to identify or label individuals or the group (e.g. warrior, survivor); terms used in quotations (e.g. “Americanize”, “master race”); terms taken from quotations of historical figures; and terms used to identify actions of individuals or the group (e.g. surrender, flee...). When a term was used with a different conjugation (e.g. fleeing, fled) it was counted as the same word and an ellipsis was added after the present tense form in the code set (flee...). I chose to analyze the most frequent occurrences in order to keep the data set manageable, included in Appendix B1 and B2. The quantities chosen for analysis were grounded in the number of terms repeated across the six texts and were parallel for both victims and perpetrators.

Terms for Victims

The set of terms for victims included the five most frequently used terms from the six textbooks. The two strongest identities that were represented for indigenous Americans were those of combatant and cultural other. Of the five terms most frequently used, three had strong connotations with conflict or its absence (warrior, leader, peaceful) and the other two had strong cultural connotations (traditional, medicine man). These terms were markedly different from the terms used for victims of the Holocaust. They were repeatedly represented as oppressed and powerless, with one consistent exception. The top four terms related to their experiences of Nazi oppression (survivor, refugee, victim, immigrant). The fifth most frequently used term, scientist,

was almost exclusively used as a specific reference to Albert Einstein, who himself became an American after fleeing Germany before the war started.

The terms used to identify the victims that are used in quotations also show a significant difference in their focus. I have chosen to include these terms separately because their use in quotations signals their unusualness and/or some distance the authors are trying to put between themselves and the terms (University of Chicago Press 2003:293). Terms are frequently used in quotations to suggest that the usage of the term in that context is generally incorrect, yet commonplace. Their usage acts as a window into the views of the perpetrator population as they are not direct quotes from any one person. The most frequent term in quotations used for indigenous Americans, “chief...”, suggests that indigenous peoples’ political organization was arbitrary, or at least arbitrarily defined. The other two most frequently repeated terms in quotations, “absurd craze” and “Ghost Shirts”, both reference the reactionary Ghost Dance religious movement which was violently suppressed by the United States (see Dussais 1997). Cumulatively, the inclusion of these terms in quotations diverts attention away from the suppression of the dance and toward the perpetrator’s outsider point of view on the Ghost Dance phenomenon.

The terms in quotations for the victims of the Holocaust focused specifically on the viewpoint of their oppressors. All three terms, “enemies” of the 3rd Reich, “inferior races” and “Jews”, reference Holocaust victims as a group rather than individual events, people or types of artifacts, and all three are specific labels used by their perpetrators in a derogatory manner. Their inclusion was intended to align the reader against the oppressors and with the victims who were obviously targets of those terms and victimized by their use. In contrast to the terms used for indigenous Americans, those terms set up a perpetrator with intent against a specific group of people.

Direct quotations used in the text from various individuals of the time, some well known and some not, also carry significant weight, especially when the most frequently used terms in these quotations are taken as a group. There are very clear messages about the relationship between the perpetrators and the victims of the Holocaust based on the three most frequently used terms from quotations, “corpse”, “human beings as slaves”, and “lashes [with a whip]”. All three draw out emotional reactions from readers, clearly delineating the victim from the perpetrator and the just from the unjust. The most frequently quoted terms for indigenous Americans, “savage...”, “children [] freezing to death”, and “creating a disturbance”) are more mixed. They do not suggest acts of injustice, and in some ways put the onus of oppression on the victims themselves. “Children [] freezing to death” does not imply intent to destroy in the same way that “human beings as slaves” does, yet the actions that were being described, namely, the forced march to “Indian Territory” known as the Trail of Tears, certainly can be seen through that lens.

The final category of terms used to describe the victim groups was the terms for their actions in relation to the perpetrator groups. For the purpose of this study, I shall discuss verbs as either active or passive. The distinction is that active verbs denote concepts that a person or group would actively participate in, such as surrender, flee and immigrate, while passive verbs, such as suffer, starve and perish, denote concepts that a group would feel, experience, or have done to them. That distinction reveals a substantial schism between the representations of the two groups. Eighteen of the top twenty words used to describe indigenous Americans’ actions are active words, thirteen of which directly related to conflict: surrender, protest, raid, refused, resist, attack, occupy, defeat, demand, flee, fought, reject and defend. Only eight of the top twenty most frequently used descriptions of actions by victims of the Holocaust are active words, and only two, resist and damaged, suggest a capacity or intention to oppose their oppression. The top three from each

group are symbolic for the overall representation of both groups. Indigenous Americans' actions were most frequently labeled as "surrender...", "protest...", and "raid..." Taken together, the implications are that although they lost in military confrontation, indigenous people had considerable power that was used in both acceptable and unacceptable ways. Actions taken by victims of the Holocaust, communicated through the verbs "flee...", "starve..." and "survive...", however, suggest pronounced victimization and struggle at the hands of their perpetrators. The reader would readily identify them as victims of crime but would have a more difficult time drawing that conclusion for indigenous Americans.

Terms for Perpetrators

Because the crime of genocide requires the perspective of the perpetrator to be understood (see Chapter 1), I chose to include terms used to represent them as well. As with victims, there are substantial differences between the representation of the two groups of perpetrators and their treatment of their victims. This thesis has as its focus the representation of victims of genocide, but victims are defined in the context of their treatment by perpetrators, so the inclusion of the latter was felt to be necessary.

For the purpose of this section, I shall refer to the two groups of perpetrators by the names of their respective governments (Nazi Germany and the United States). I fully recognize that non-state actors were involved in perpetuating both genocides, but their actions were supported by the institutionalized oppression of their respective nation states.

Nazi Germany is most frequently described in the textbooks with terms such as death camps, power..., superior... [race], storm troopers and thugs, all of which are emotionally loaded in relatively the same way. All of the five most frequently used terms put Nazi Germany in an

aggressive role and taken together, suggest injustice, bigotry and violence. Terms for the United States, however, do not show such consistency. Three of the top five terms, brutal, corrupt..., and intruder, suggest injustice, but the other two, hero and pioneer, effectively contradict the others. Further, the term “hero” is used over twice as frequently as the other terms in relation to actions against indigenous Americans, suggesting that it is more relevant than the others. All four of the others appear in the texts equally. From this the textbook reader draws the conclusion that Nazi Germany has no redeeming value and would deserve the label of genocidare, whereas the United States, while having at times been unjust, overall could not have its actions towards indigenous Americans construed as completely genocidal.

Terms in quotes, as mentioned previously, can act as windows into the ideologies of the perpetrators and thus deserve special attention. Again, strong distinctions exist between these two data sets. Nazi Germany is identified most frequently by authors with terms in quotations such as “master race”, “Aryan”, and “final solution to the Jewish question.” The first two emphasize the racial distinction being made, a necessary component of the definition of genocide. The third is a direct reference to genocidal intent. The three most common terms in quotes for the United States, “Americanize”, “civilize...”, and “American” names, emphasize intentional transformation, but are likely to be regarded by students as generally positive if not critically analyzed. They are, in fact, genocidal terms, but the focus of the wording is not on destruction or power, and none of the textbook authors critically deconstruct the terms for their readers. Those terms allow the textbooks’ authors to reference genocidal attitudes without naming them as such or necessarily leading the reader to that end. To “Americanize” has very similar underlying implications for the perpetrators as the concept of the “master race”, yet the wording obscures those parallels.

The words and phrases that show up most frequently in quotations regarding perpetrators show similar patterns regarding the usage of loaded words, especially those that denote an imbalance of power. The three most frequently quoted words or phrases regarding Nazi Germany - systematic, conquest and convict prisons-, when taken together, suggest power and control over their victims. The central message is the perpetrators' active and intentional domination of the victim group. The terms most often quoted regarding the United States are mixed in their overall semantic meanings. The most commonly quoted phrase used to describe the United States (kill... Indian...) is not nearly as loaded a phrase as conquest or systematic, used for Nazi Germany, because it could be and is used in a variety of contexts. "Killing Indians" could easily be explained away in the context of war, even with the quotation, "It is right and good to kill Indians" (John Chivington, quoted in various texts), even though the speaker has genocidal intentions. The second most commonly quoted word-- civilize/ation-- has been historically used to minimize genocidal intent, and the quotations using this euphemism are never explained with more direct or clear language. The third most commonly quoted phrase is about termination policies-- this bill will destroy...rob. While that quotation focuses on the detrimental effects on indigenous peoples caused by the United States, it is impersonal-- the quotation is about how a piece of legislation will affect indigenous people, not about the people who drafted it or their intent for doing so. Again, it is clear that while a very clear message around the intention of Nazi Germany is presented consistently, the intent of the United States towards its victims is presented as mixed at best.

The terms used by the texts' authors to describe actions taken by perpetrators against their victims are strong for both genocides, but again some consistent patterns emerge. Twice as many words that reflected killing are used for Nazi Germany than for the United States: exterminate, murder, mass murder and cremated vs. massacre and slaughter. Of the top twenty most frequently

used words for Nazi Germany's actions, three are emotional in nature-- horror..., hate..., and chilling-
- while there are none for the United States. When taken as an aggregate, the words for the actions of the United States focus on power, control of movement, imposing will, and discrete actions taken against their victims. In contrast, those used for Nazi Germany emphasize power, intentional targeting, processes rather than discrete actions, and acts designed to bring about suffering and death used against their victims (see Appendix B 1 and B2 for the complete lists). While the actions of the United States are described as harsh, they do not suggest genocidal intent nearly as strongly as descriptions used for Nazi Germany.

Text

The coding of a book's text is divided into two distinct portions: representation of the genocide as a series of criminal acts perpetrated with intent to destroy and the genocide as an assault on a distinct human group with a history and a future. Each portion is coded using fourteen different codes for a total of twenty-eight codes applied to each page of text related to the conflict between the perpetrators and their victims.

Genocide as Criminal

Before delving into the coding of the texts as whole works (included in Appendix B4 and B5), I will focus on the definitions each textbook provides for the crime of genocide (see Appendix A3). These definitions are predominantly provided in sections explicitly concerned with the Holocaust; the only exceptions are a glossary definition (Danzer et al. 2002:963) and one offered in a brief discussion of the Turkish treatment of Armenians during World War I (Cayton et al. 2005:663). The eight definitions are not all consistent with one another, and none is completely consistent with the *Genocide Convention* (included in Appendix A2). Remember that genocide has three basic parts:

intent to destroy, a specifically defined victim group, and specific acts of violence committed against that victim group. None of the textbook definitions meet all three criteria, as I shall explain.

Five of the six books directly define the word genocide, and two of the six offer two distinct definitions which are considerably different from each other. One of the two textbooks with multiple definitions has a more specific definition in the glossary than the one embedded in the text (Danzer et al. 2002). The other defines the term differently for two different genocidal events, neither of which is related to indigenous Americans (Cayton et al. 2005). The book without an explicit definition associates the term with “scientific mass murder of ‘undesirables’” (Bailey et al. 1998:870), directly referencing Nazi terminology and making it more difficult to generalize. When looking for representation of the component of intent, I found that six of the eight definitions refer to genocide as “deliberate” with the other two using “scientific” (Bailey et al. 1998:870) and “organized” (Cayton et al. 2005:). While intentional killing is central to all of the definitions, it is not specific to genocide. Deliberate killing is a common act of war and is often organized. “Scientific”, while highly symbolic, is too vague a term to have much meaning in the context of the textbook’s discussion of genocide’s definition. All of these definitions arguably lack the most critical component of the Genocide Convention-- the “intent to destroy”.

The second component of genocide requires a sufficient definition of the targets as members either of a racial, ethnic, religious or cultural group. Four of the definitions mention only “an entire people”, one mentions “a group of people” (Jordan et al. 1995:725), another “undesirables” (Bailey et al. 1998:870), and the most recently published “an entire ethnic or cultural group” (Cayton et al. 2005:843). The one that comes closest, hitting three of the four identities of “racial, national, or religious group” is offered in the glossary of one of the books (Danzer et al. 2002:963). It is a far more precise definition than the one offered in the text of the same book-- “an

entire people” (2002:555). Interestingly, the definition in the newest text would not include the Holocaust because, based on Nazi Germany’s definition, “Jew” was considered a racial category, not ethnic or cultural.

The third component of the United Nations’ definition requires certain types of actions be committed against a group to constitute genocide. Of the eight definitions, five name acts of genocide as killing only. Only three definitions use other words- “annihilation” (Boyer 2001: 817), “extermination” (Danzon et al. 2002:963) and “destruction” (Cayton et al. 2005:843). If genocide is solely defined as merely killing, four of the five recognized acts of genocide under Article II of the *Genocide Convention* are omitted. Again, the newest of the six books comes closest to the international criminal definition, but “destruction” is still a fairly ambiguous word and does not capture the specificity of Article II A-E. That same book defined genocide earlier in the section on the World War I Turkish genocide of Armenians but used a much less precise definition-- “the organized killing of an *entire people*” (Cayton et al. 2005:663, emphasis added). If these definitions were held up to the events of the Holocaust, it could be argued that almost none of them actually defines the Holocaust as genocide because the “entire” group of Jews, Poles, Roma, handicapped, etcetera were not “killed”, “exterminated” or “annihilated”. The intent component of genocide’s definition is absolutely critical. Genocide can be committed even if only a small percentage of a population is killed, so long as the perpetrator has the “intent to destroy” the categorically defined group through particular types of actions.

Without an accurate definition of genocide included in a textbook, it would certainly be much more challenging for teachers to lead students in discussing the concept holistically. It could be equally possible that the concept of genocide would be inappropriately applied to many other

acts of war in which deliberate killing of people occurred but the necessary “intent to destroy” is absent. My analysis of the texts begins with the perpetrators’ intent.

Through the codebook, I examine representations of the perpetrators’ perspective through the inclusion of propaganda and quotations by perpetrators regarding their victims. There are marginally more quotations by perpetrators regarding their victims for the United States than for Nazi Germany. However, three times as many articles of propaganda or references to propaganda are included for Nazi Germany. The quotations are not coded directly for their content, only for their presence or absence, so the meaning and purpose of those quotations is not captured.

Propaganda is defined for this thesis as information distributed within the perpetrator population to define and/or classify the victim. Its inclusion serves the purpose of clarifying the view of the perpetrators towards their victims. The comparative lack of propaganda representing the United States’ population suggests that their point of view on their victims is less important to emphasize, which in turn minimizes two of the three essential elements of genocide: the intent to destroy and the definition of victims in particular ways (see Chapter 1).

When coding for representation of structural support and organization for genocide, the results are mixed. The United States is more frequently associated with military actions and is far more likely to have its direct military actions described. When illegal actions, such as killing innocent people, are depicted, they are in the context of military maneuvering and are three times more likely to be represented without consequences for the soldiers or officers. The United States is five times more likely to be represented implicitly supporting illegal actions taken by citizens or military personnel. The violence perpetrated by the United States is included in the text often, but the ramifications and consequences for both victims and perpetrators are rarely included. Further, it is

almost always included within the context of military activities during war, thus obfuscating the intent to destroy their targets. In contrast, all of the books in my sample include the specific treatment of the victims of the Holocaust as a separate section from descriptions of the Second World War. These differences might be explained by the contrast between the conclusions of the two aggressive wars; Nazi Germany was called to account for its crimes before the nations of the world, whereas the United States came out victorious. Even if other nations had condemned the United States for its actions, none of the textbooks' authors felt it was relevant to include any international criticism of the treatment of indigenous Americans whatsoever.

Nazi Germany's violence is included in the texts in a very different way. One difference is a stronger emphasis on independent groups, such as gangs, committing acts of violence with support of the government. The Nazis are also four times as likely to be represented giving direct orders to commit acts of genocide such as killing people based on group membership or causing them physical harm. Compared to the United States, Nazi Germany is 50% more likely to have its acts of violence explicitly described in the text. Broadly, these figures suggest a focus on the fears of the victims. There is no mention of rapprochement or praise by the perpetrator population for genocidal acts committed by Nazi Germany, suggesting that the official policy was broadly embraced by the population. Given the emphasis on descriptions of violence, non-governmental actors, and direct orders to commit genocide, the reader's sympathies for the fears of the victims under Nazi rule are being addressed. For the United States, however, the reader is being asked to consider the genocide in the context of winning a series of battles in a war. Another significant point is that discussions of indigenous Americans span an average of 25.7 pages, whereas text about victims of the Holocaust averages 7.2 pages of coverage. The breadth of discussion of indigenous peoples

allows the genocidal violence to be diffused, whereas with victims of the Holocaust, the relative brevity forces more direct assertions of genocide.

When considering the acts used to construct the identities of the victims through a genocidal lens, I coded for citations of the use of discriminatory laws and the inclusion of background information related to the conflict. Information regarding the roots of conflict between indigenous Americans and the United States are four times as likely to be included, and the benefits of the oppression of indigenous peoples is nearly twice as likely to be represented than for the relationship between Nazi Germany and its victims. The implications are that the history of the conflict is not important; Nazis did not need a motive to commit their genocide, they only needed victims. For the United States, information provided in the texts acts as a justification for genocide, including reasons why it was profitable for indigenous peoples to be displaced or destroyed.

Consistently, authors discussed the laws used to oppress the victim groups more frequently for Nazi Germany than for the United States. While the numbers are similar for physical displacement and the modification of rights, there is little discussion of the forced conformity used against indigenous peoples in the textbooks. The history of indigenous boarding schools and the genocidal education of the United States is rarely and poorly included in the texts. Nazi Germany is over three times as likely to be represented as forcing conformity or public identification on its victims. This is interesting, given that often Nazi Germany was forcing its victims to visibly conform in order to prepare them for genocidal violence (e.g.: labeling Jews with the yellow star so that they could be singled out), whereas it was used by the United States as a direct act of genocide as defined by Article II C of the Genocide Convention (e.g.: forcing children to adopt European hairstyles and clothing). When textbooks' authors minimize the discussion and inclusion of these

legal acts of separation and control, the United States continues to appear at war with an outside entity rather than engaged in the elimination of a cultural group.

Genocide as Human Targeting

In contrast to viewing genocide as a crime committed by perpetrators is the view that genocide is committed against victims who are whole, distinct peoples until rendered as victims of the perpetrators' atrocities. The emphasis in this latter perspective is on understanding the viewpoint of the victims before, during and after their experiences of genocide. This view of genocide does not focus on violence because it is not concerned with the perpetrators; it is used to help others understand the victims as people with a history that the perpetrators were trying to erase.

When coding for representation of the victims' identities prior to the perpetrators' interventions, the contrast between the two groups is strong. The histories of indigenous Americans are represented at least three times more frequently than those of the victims of the Holocaust in all six categories. In fact, the histories of victims of the Holocaust are completely omitted in two textbooks and mentioned once in each of the rest of the six books in my sample. The result is that students are offered little to no opportunity to understand who European Jews, Roma, Poles, and all other victims of the Holocaust were. They become completely defined by their persecution. In effect, the victims of the Holocaust are defined for students by Nazi Germany; their identity is tied to the identity created for the purpose of their destruction.

Another important component of focused attention on the victims is on their survival of the genocides committed against them. Genocide attempts to destroy a group of people; the maintenance of a group targeted for genocide is a bold defiance of that genocide and demonstrates

the resilience of the victim group. When coding for representations of the victim groups after their experiences of genocide, again a great disparity is found. Authors include some representation of structural changes both victim groups underwent, but the statistics are misleading. Half of the books in my sample did not mention the victims of the Holocaust whatsoever following the end of their persecution by Nazi Germany. The data are skewed by the low page counts for the discussion of the European genocide. In reality, only three books mention the victims of the Holocaust after the end of World War II, and all of the references are in regards to the creation of Israel. That same pattern follows for the other two categories; cultural resurgence movements and protests are twice as prevalent in the textbooks for indigenous Americans. Students depending on these textbooks, while having been unable to learn about victims of the Holocaust prior to their persecution, are also unable to learn about their lives afterwards.

The final category within the victim perspective is the representation of their experiences during persecution. In all of the coded categories, indigenous Americans have their experiences represented more frequently than victims of the Holocaust, even with the statistical biases mentioned earlier. For example, while indigenous Americans statistically have their emotional reactions to oppression represented 33% more frequently, only two of the six books represent emotional responses from victims of the Holocaust at all. Only one of the six books discusses any changes in the social structure of the group, such as political or community organizing. The most poignant of all the categories for me is the representation of victim resistance to oppression. Indigenous Americans are over five times as likely to be represented resisting their persecution as victims of the Holocaust are. These significant omissions would lead students to believe that victims of the Holocaust were passive recipients of oppression who made little attempt to adapt and challenge their persecution. These omissions themselves constitute violence based on Martin

Luther King, Jr.'s definition ("anything that denies human integrity, and leads to hopelessness and helplessness") in that victims of the Holocaust are consistently depicted as not fully human, as merely victims.

Images

Textbooks rely heavily on images, and images are vital in the learning and teaching of history and, by extension, of genocide. Images were included in this sample if they represented the victims of the two genocides in some way. The books in my sample averaged approximately nine images for every ten pages in sections on both indigenous Americans and victims of the Holocaust. The images were coded in three ways: by the content of the image itself; by the caption connected to the image; and by the text that related to the image.

Content of the Images

The codes that were created for the images themselves revealed few patterns. They were created to focus on how each group was presented to the audience. Both indigenous Americans and victims of the Holocaust are depicted in portrait poses approximately 40% of the time, and approximately 85% of all of the images are of people (as opposed to material objects such as clothes or weapons). The other two categories focused on the type of clothes in which each group was most often depicted, and the results were fairly similar for both groups. Indigenous Americans were depicted in their traditional clothes 15% more often than victims of the Holocaust, while victims of the Holocaust were depicted in clothes made for them by the perpetrators nine percent more frequently than indigenous Americans. The two sets of codes that concentrated on clothing revealed little about the nature of the representation of both groups. The subtleties of the images

were not captured in this coding mechanism, which is why a semiotic analysis of the images was necessary.

Content of the Captions

The captions of the images reveal divergent foci for the two groups of victims. For victims of the Holocaust, the captions are over twice as likely to name the perpetrators and 40% less likely to name the victims than images of indigenous Americans are. They are also twice as likely to discuss the significance of the perpetrator relative to the event depicted. Taken together, these statistics suggest that the identity of the perpetrators is much more important to the victims of the Holocaust than to indigenous Americans.

Apart from the focus on the perpetrators, the captions for images of victims of the Holocaust are far more likely to put the images into a historical context. They are twice as likely to name the event being depicted and twice as likely to date the image than captions for images of indigenous Americans. The implication is that the timeline for Nazi persecution is somehow more important to understand than that of United States' persecution. By contextualizing the images twice as often, it suggests an emphasis on a criminal lens by focusing on specific events and periods of time.

Captions for images of individual indigenous Americans, while more likely to name the central victim, are also more likely to draw attention away from the person being pictured. These captions are approximately 50% more likely to include irrelevant information or information unrelated to the image, and are almost four times as likely to name the creators of the images as are captions placed beside images of victims of the Holocaust. The images of indigenous Americans are much more likely to be discussed or framed as works of art instead of depictions of real people.

There is typically little to no discussion of artists' motivations to document and preserve what they saw as disappearing peoples, something that might encourage students to view the paintings and drawings differently.

Drawing on Susan Sontag's work (2003), the implications are that the reader is called to view the images of indigenous Americans as subjective, while images of victims of the Holocaust are taken as facts. Paintings and drawings are easily associated with artistic license because they are entirely created by the hand of the artist, whereas photographs have the camera as an intermediary between the photographer and the subject. However, photographers too make artistic choices about composition, camera angles, lighting, etc. Sontag reminds us that "to photograph is to frame, and to frame is to exclude" (2003:46), and while a postmodern perspective-- emphasizing the point of view of the images' creators-- is not significantly encouraged in the textbooks, it seemed all but out of reach when viewing victims of the Holocaust.

Text Related to the Images

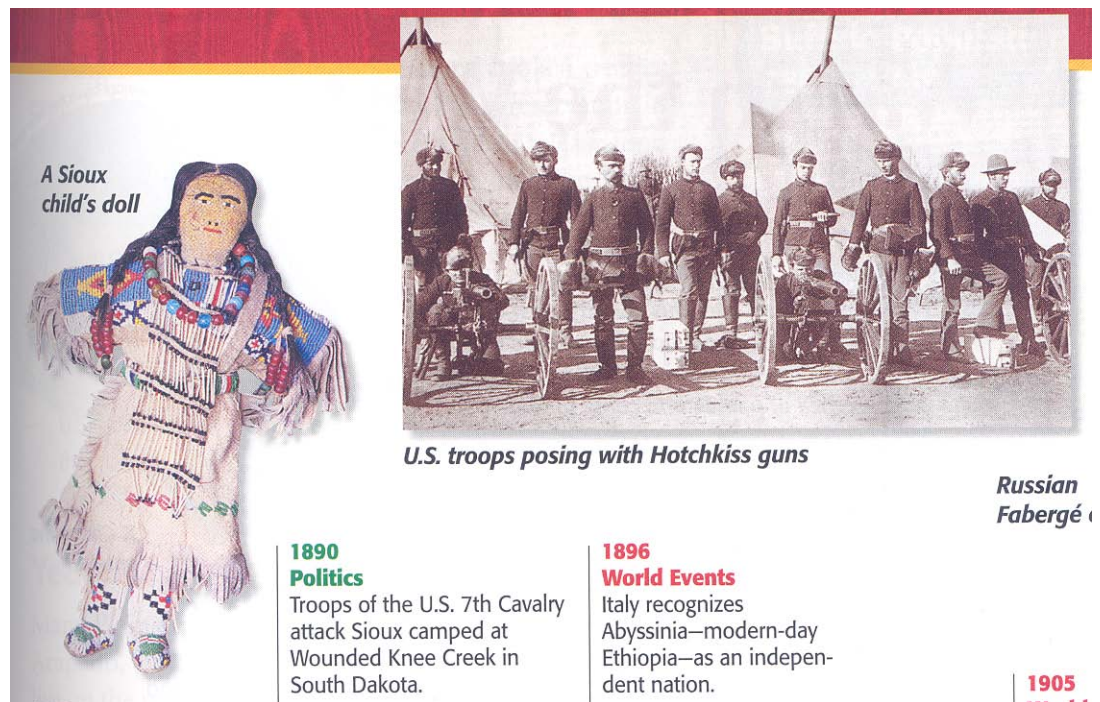
Each image and its caption is situated within the narrative of the textbook, although approximately one of every four images has no relevant component of text to provide context or extension information. This figure is consistent for both victims of the Holocaust and indigenous Americans. Typically, the images associated with the two groups are used for different purposes, however. Images of victims of the Holocaust that did not have related text often depict specific activities, such as women repairing shoes in a concentration camp, or of material objects such as a pile of stolen rings taken at the gas chambers, both used to reference their plight at the hands of Nazi Germany. Indigenous people, however, are often used as works of art posed next to poetry, or

as generic representations of “Indianness” inserted into text about tribes unrelated to the ones depicted.

For those images which are expanded upon in the text, some of the same patterns seen earlier reemerge. The related text is 40% more likely to focus on the actions and choices of Nazi Germany than the United States. Moreover, text associated with images is twice as likely to describe acts of injustice done to victims of the Holocaust than indigenous Americans. Those figures align with the coding of the text discussed earlier and point to the same conclusion that victims of the Holocaust are more likely to be defined by their oppression. Victims of the Holocaust are also 50% more likely to be described using passive language than indigenous Americans are which aligns with the previous conclusion that victims of the Holocaust are more likely to be seen as passive recipients of oppression rather than engaging in conflict with their oppressors. Indigenous Americans are over ten times as likely to have their actions and choices represented in the text related to their images than victims of the Holocaust are, and indigenous individuals who are depicted are over five times as likely to have their historical significance discussed than individual victims of the Holocaust. This final statistic suggests that the collective experience of persecution is more important to represent for victims of the Holocaust because stories of individuals are far less likely to be told, even when images of individuals are included in the text. Remember that indigenous Americans are 60% more likely to be named in their captions than victims of the Holocaust are. Perhaps this disparity is due in part to purposeful naming and discussion of indigenous leaders in popular American publications such as newspapers to construct them as specific enemies of the American people.

Semiotic Analysis of Selected Images

I chose five images from each of the two sets of data on genocide victims to keep the representation of the two groups balanced in this thesis. There were roughly four times as many images of indigenous Americans as victims of the Holocaust, likely due to the bias of the textbooks toward United States history instead of world history. I selected images that were representative of consistent themes demonstrated in the imaging of the two groups. Images were analyzed not only for their composition, but also for the semiotic meanings imparted through their juxtapositions with other images on the page and their captions.



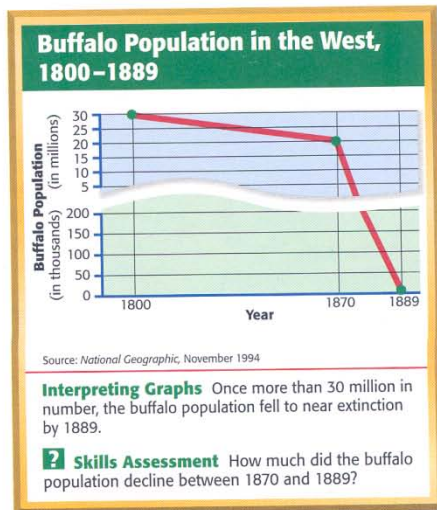
Page 433 in the 2001 edition of *The American Nation* (reprinted with minor alteration on page 161 of the 2003 edition) is the second in a two-page spread prefacing Chapter 14 (Chapter 5 in 2003). The introductory spread includes various historical events, without any consistent theme, spread across a timeline in the center of the pages. On the second page is a photograph of a Sioux

doll situated next to an image of United States troops posing with their newly invented Hotchkiss machine guns. At the bottom of the page is a photograph of a race by settlers for land in Oklahoma Territory, which the caption notes had been specifically reserved for “American Indians”.

Semiotically, the three images are strongly connected in a chronological flow following the timeline on which they rest. The race for indigenous lands, depicted in a photograph documenting the event, was closely followed by indigenous people, here represented by a child’s doll, being “attacked” by the much more sophisticated soldiers of the United States, pictured with their advanced weaponry, which in turn led to the populating of the west, which is the subject of the following chapter.

Visually, the doll is a cast aside left on the battlefield, or perhaps a trophy for the victors; she is the spoils of war taken by the soldiers which eventually ended up in a museum. The doll also infantilizes the indigenous people, justifying their domination by the United States.

While this juxtaposition itself is rather unsettling, it could potentially provide for a meaningful discussion on the goals and ideology of genocide in the United States. However, the questions included at the bottom of the page point to other understandings as goals for the coming section in the textbook. In the paragraph titled “Building on What You Know”, there is a discussion of violence as an *outcome* of settlement, not as instrumental in its establishment. The description suggests that it was the “establish[ment of] farms and ranches” (160, 432), not military campaigns, that caused indigenous suffering. Further, the suggested journaling topic focuses on *cultural* differences between groups as the source of conflict. When paired with these two pieces of text, the images lose their powerful messages and the associations between them are minimized.



were assigned to confine the American Indians as U.S. troops occasionally did.

It occurred in Colorado and militia throughout the rest of the fighting. On the same week. While most of the soldiers were of the John M. Chivington and they raised a U.S. flag above

INTERPRETING THE VISUAL RECORD

Buffalo. This painting by John Mix Stanley features a scene of the West. *What does the painting reveal about the techniques American Indians used to hunt buffalo?*



THE WESTERN CROSSROADS 163

Two pages later, in both editions of *The American Nation*, another significant use of images is found. Page 163 in the 2003 edition (page 435 in 2001) is the second page of the section titled “War in the West”, focusing primarily on military engagements between the United States and various indigenous nations. The images included on this page do not appear to have any relevance to the text whatsoever. When taken together, however, they carry significant semiotic meaning.

The two images are arranged one above the other; a graph of declining buffalo population over a painting of indigenous men hunting buffalo on horseback. The lower painting was included as a general representation of “a scene of the West” (Boyer 2001:435, Boyer & Stuckey 2003:163), not as an illustration of any of the textual content. The nearly naked man in the foreground is a shade of brown just between the dark buffalo he is hunting

and the white horse he is riding, both of which appear frightened. In this way he is between the two worlds of the European taming of nature, referencing the introduction of horses to the Americas, and the unspoiled, uninhibited wildness of American nature. His face appears vicious, and his muscular, near-naked body and fierce stance suggest an inherent, natural violence. In representing

him without distinguishable markings or clothing, he becomes “Indian” for the viewer, representing all indigenous Americans of the time, and rendering him without context or history.

The image above John Mix Stanley’s painting is a graph depicting the changes in the buffalo population from 1800 to 1889. The text in the section in which this graph appears mentions buffalo only once, and omits any discussion of the steep decline of the buffalo population or its root causes. The question included as part of the caption asks the reader to calculate the loss of buffalo over the final nineteen years of the graph, not to think critically about what those losses would mean for people trying to survive by hunting or why those incredible losses occurred in those last nineteen years in particular. When taken in tandem with the question posed to the reader regarding the painting (“What does the painting reveal about the techniques American Indians used to hunt buffalo?” Boyer 2001:435, Boyer & Stuckey 2003:163), the two images put the focus of buffalo decline squarely on indigenous peoples. Together, the images suggest that it was the spread of horses in indigenous communities, not genocidal policies and practices of the United States, which led to the decline of buffalo populations. Placed within a section entitled, “War in the West”, the graph and painting might be thought to allude to something about conflict between European Americans and indigenous peoples, but there is no discussion in the captions or main text to help students understand the connection.

To further complicate the texts’ usage of these images, the central subject of the text in which they are embedded is not only unrelated to the images, but is specifically concerned with genocidal acts committed against indigenous peoples by the United States military. The images serve to distract the reader from the discussion of the Sand Creek Massacre. Interestingly, the texts of the two editions are almost identical, save a few significant changes. One change that is poignant and representative of the changes throughout the books is the substitution of “Struggling to

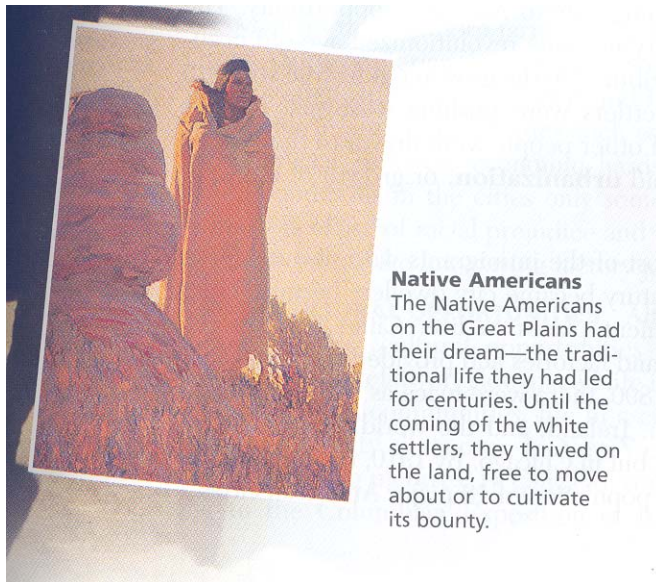
perform their duties” (Boyer and Stuckey 2003:163) for “Struggling to confine or relocate American Indians” (Boyer 2001:435) in regards to actions taken by United States soldiers. Even if the change was to eliminate words in the interest of shortening the text, which I find improbable because it shortens the text by only two words, this substitution allows the language of the textbook to further obfuscate the true intent of the United States toward indigenous peoples. The images serve to hide the crimes of the United States in plain sight, and the more current version of the text consistently downplays further those crimes through its revisions and substitutions.



Another consistent pattern of representation of indigenous peoples is their representation as disassociated artifacts, isolated from a lived experience or unique identity. The image to the left is included in a section of *American Pageant* (Bailey et al. 1998:607) titled, “The Plains Indians”. The

text does not mention any of the tribes each of these images is included to represent, and, as such, they stand for all “Plains Indians”. The three objects (the shield, cradleboard, and painting) are viewed by the audience through the gaze of the museum patron looking at artifacts. None of them is included with a story, but instead they are captioned by an analysis of each. The artist who painted this portrait is discussed as much as the woman depicted, and the information about her is simply an inference made from analyzing her name. She stands as an artifact of “Plains Indian”

culture, gazing at other artifacts in the collection. The cradle faces away from her, empty. These three artifacts together appear as an installment without a history, waiting to be analyzed by outsiders.



Native Americans

The Native Americans on the Great Plains had their dream—the traditional life they had led for centuries. Until the coming of the white settlers, they thrived on the land, free to move about or to cultivate its bounty.

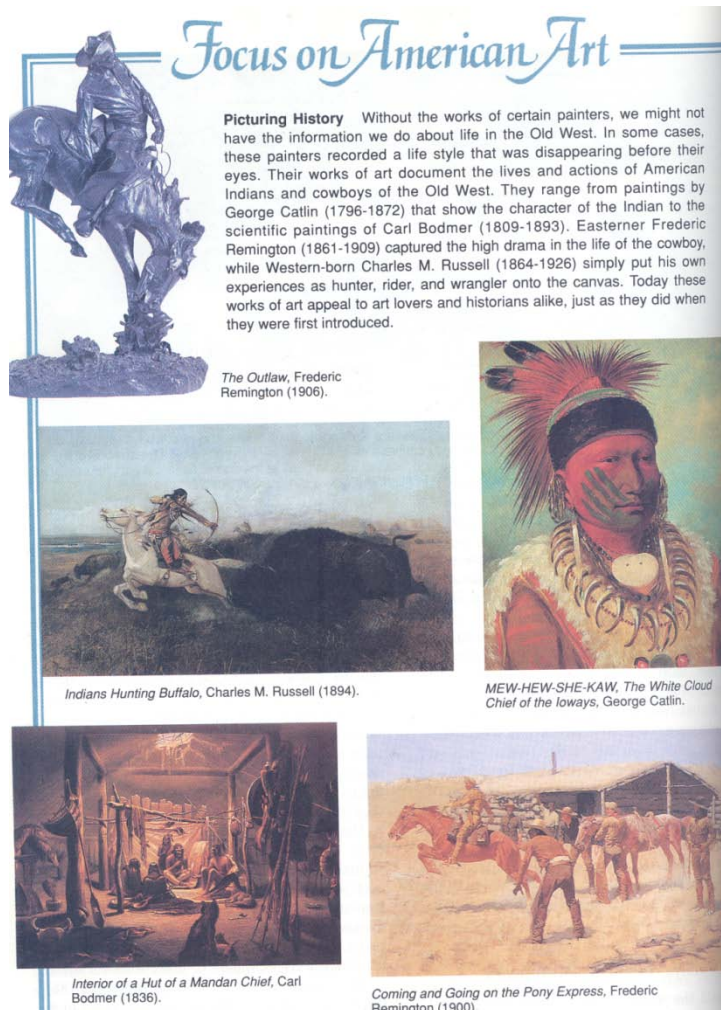
Indigenous groups from the Great Plains region are often represented as one culture group, without much discussion of the many different tribes that lived in different areas. Images such as the one to the left (Danzer et al. 2002:281) are used to represent a variety of cultures, subsistence practices and histories as one set of identities and experiences. This

painting is of a man wrapped in cloth looking out from a hillside. He is flanked on the left by a large stone and on the right by a grove of trees. He is here situated directly in nature, without distinguishing markings or clothing. His stoic, stern stare and the way he clutches his blanket suggest a hardened demeanor, cold and resistant to whatever is before him in the distance. The colors suggest it is evening, and with the sun at his back, he is facing east, towards the on-coming “white settlers” mentioned in the caption.

The caption associated with the image above serves to further freeze indigenous peoples in time. It is on a page that is part of a two-page spread about different manifestations of the American Dream. The caption here suggests that the indigenous “dream” was to be unchanging and “traditional”. Indigenous people become primitive and in a sense less human, because the creative powers of humanity are denied them by the assumption that they do not learn and develop their

lifeways through interaction and experimentation. It is almost a spontaneous creation mythology: indigenous people do not develop anything new, and therefore at one point must have come upon all of the technology that they use in their “traditional li[ves] they ha[ve] led for centuries”.

This view is contrasted in the two-page spread by six other “American Dreams” from different periods in United States’ history. Interestingly, the introductory paragraph mentions three of those six, and one that is not represented, but includes no mention of the indigenous “dream” at all. What is most telling, however, is the juxtaposition of “dreams” with indigenous peoples and other minority groups. The caption for the period headed “1890: Changing Frontiers” describes how during the expansion of the United States across the continent, “many competing dreams collided” (Danzer et al. 2002:280). The two other “dreams” that are grouped under this heading are of European and Asian Immigrants and African Americans. Their dreams include seeking better employment, more freedom, and “opportunities for their children” (Danzer et al. 2002:280). Based on this information, one might assume that the real threats to indigenous people were immigrants and freed slaves, not a genocidal government. The emphasis continues to be on “settlers” moving into indigenous lands as opposed to military personnel physically removing tribes systematically.



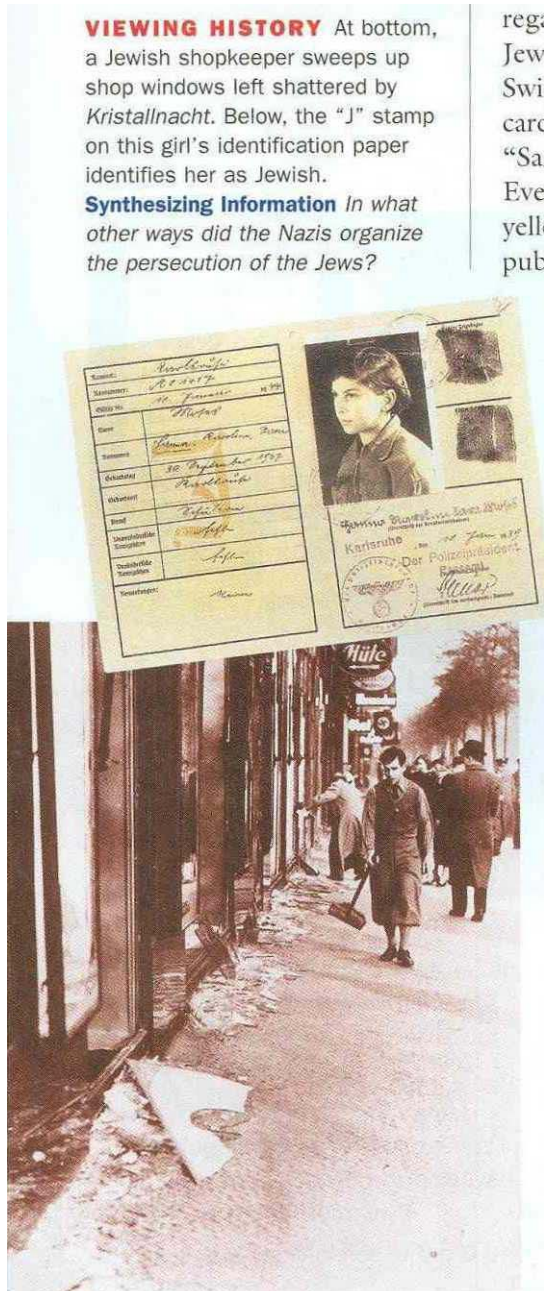
Another consistent theme seen among representations of indigenous people in textbooks is the emphasis on the art and artist rather than the people being represented. In effect, indigenous people are moved from the subject position to the object, and their inclusion merely allows for discussion of European-Americans. This stand-alone page (Jordan et al. 1995:424) is specifically about artistic representation and is included in the section titled “Cowboys Become Folk Heroes”. Semiotically, we see the

reinforcement of the “Cowboys and Indians” dichotomy so popular in American folk history, a dichotomy that hides the involvement of the United States military and continues the “pioneer” mythology of the “frontier”.

Three of the five images included on the page are representations of indigenous peoples; only one is a representation of an ostensibly “real” historical figure. This man is represented with a painted face, heavily ornamented clothing, and an elaborately decorated head-covering. The caption spells out his name phonetically and provides his rank in his tribe. This tribe, ironically, is never mentioned anywhere else in the textbook. His portrait is included to show how, “paintings by

George Caitlin (1796-1892) [] show the character of the Indian” (1995:424), not to add to students’ understanding of indigenous peoples. MEW-HEW-SHE-KAW is here an artifact, not a person; his portrait is used to make him an object of American history, not one of its subjects.

The other two images of indigenous people are similarly complex in their communicated meanings. *Indians Hunting Buffalo* is a highly romanticized image of the buffalo-hunting motif, again showing the indigenous man as a shade between his horse and the buffalo he hunts. The introduction to the images clearly demonstrates that this image is not supposed to represent any specific group of people; the artist, “simply put his own experiences as a hunter, rider, and wrangler onto the canvas” (Jordan et al. 1995:424). The image below, *Interior of a Hut of a Mandan Chief*, is referred to as “scientific” in the introduction without any qualification for what that means. The image itself communicates a sense of dirty, dank surroundings with little organization of objects. The unspoken message is one of disorder and uncleanness, even among the leaders of indigenous groups. Again this painting is not contextualized within a narrative nor located in history; it merely “document[s] the lives and actions of American Indians” (Jordan et al. 1995:424) in a vague, essentializing gaze which casts indigenous people as part of the dirty ground. This collection of images represents indigenous people not as who they were, but as what European Americans wanted them to be. Not only is the legacy of violence dismissed by the reaffirming of the false dichotomy of “Cowboys and Indians”, but the identity of the victims is recast to fit a romantic non-history, one that offers no challenges to the myth of settlement as the main threat to indigenous peoples in America.



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Representations of victims of the Holocaust demonstrate some consistent patterns as well, which stand in stark contrast to those of indigenous Americans. The paired images to the left (Cayton et al. 2005:842) are included in a section titled “The Holocaust” within the chapter on World War II in the most recently published textbook in the sample. The image at the top is a photograph of young Jewish girl’s Nazi German passport. The image of the girl is set next to her fingerprints, positioned above the Luftwaffe eagle stamp. On the left hand side is a large “J” stamped over the text, which the caption tells the reader, “identifies her as Jewish” (2005:842). The strong symbolism of this image reinforces the systematic and authoritarian persecution of the Jews.

Set behind the passport is a famous photo, which is included in a third of the books in my sample. This image depicts a man holding a broom

walking down a street littered with broken glass. His face is forlorn and overwhelmed with the task at hand. Passersby can be seen in the background observing the clean-up efforts happening all along the street. The caption tells the reader that this man is a Jewish shopkeeper who is clearing debris following Kristallnacht, which the text explains in greater detail. In the image, it appears that

every window that can be seen has been smashed out and a large number of spectators are looking on from the sidewalk.

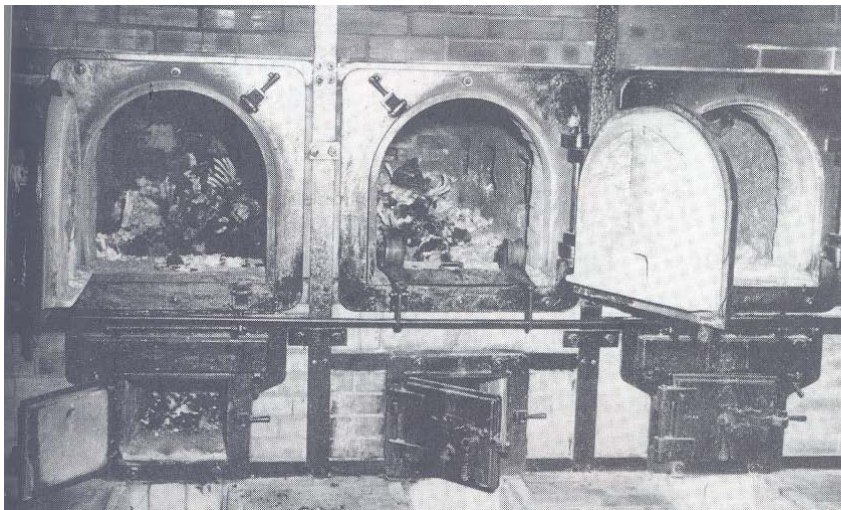
The messages this picture communicates are two-fold and articulate with the image overlapping it. The first and strongest of these is the systematic injustice done to victims of the Holocaust by their oppressors. The shopkeeper is someone the reader is meant to identify with, and the spectators remind the reader that this person is powerless to defend himself, just as the girl in the photo is powerless to resist the state's control of her documentation. The second message is a more subtle message about this man's feelings and response to his unjust treatment. He is passive, with his head down and turned slightly away from the others on the sidewalk. He is accepting of his victimization, and does not appear in any way interested in resisting or confronting it. Semiotically, the swastika above his head in the background looms over his shoulder keeping him powerless and fearful, just as the Luftwaffe and the "J" do for the little girl.



A Nazi Death Camp These gaunt survivors of the Nazi concentration camp at Evensee, Austria, greeted their liberators from the U.S. Third Army on May 7, 1945. Scanty food and wretched sanitation claimed almost as many lives in the death camps as the horrid gas chambers. Although the world had some knowledge of these conditions before the war's end, the full revelation of Hitler's atrocities as the Allies overran Germany in the spring of 1945 stunned and sickened the invading troops.

Another consistent theme within images of victims of the Holocaust is their depiction as prisoners. The image above (Bailey et al. 1998:871) is found in half of the books in my sample. It depicts men wearing shirts and blankets barely covering their extremely thin bodies, standing in a group at least three people deep all facing the photographer. This image was never included with names for those pictured, the photographer's name, or any information about its subjects beyond their location and the date. The associated caption emphasizes the outsider's perspective on the crimes of the perpetrators. The emotional reactions provided are those of the liberators rather than the survivors. When I look at this image, I see so much strength and determination in the faces of these men, yet none of that is mentioned in any of the captions for this often utilized image. This image stands not for the narratives of the victims but for evidence of the atrocities committed by the perpetrators. One of the other images refers to the survivors as "half-dead" (Jordan et al. 1995:761) and tells the reader that many died shortly after the photo was taken, further setting them up not as people with histories but as evidence for crime.

An even more disturbing and equally consistent representation of victims of the Holocaust is often not a picture of people, but of the tools of their disposal. Half of the textbooks in my sample contained images similar to the one below (Jordan et al. 1995:725). This one, included in a section titled “Early Events Warn Americans”, is juxtaposed with text that introduces the terms blitzkrieg, Holocaust, and genocide. The image depicts three open ovens that allow the viewer to peer inside, revealing ashes and bones.



Picturing History The horror of the Nazi atrocities that occurred during the Holocaust is well documented in photographs such as the ones shown here. Above, a Jewish family is arrested by Nazi troops in Warsaw, Poland, in 1939. At the left, open doors reveal the ashes of women burned in the human disposal ovens in Weimar, Germany. Gold teeth and clothing were removed before cremation.

The “people” included in this image are the epitome of powerless and hopeless- they are dead, presumably recently murdered by their oppressors and burned to destroy the evidence of their existence. These victims are pictured here without any identity other than that of victims. They have no nationality or ethnicity; they have no history nor any future. Because of this, the reader is asked to assume who they are and what brought them to meet this fate.

The fact that they are identified as women draws the reader to connect this image with the other image on the same page, (Jordan et al. 1995:725) included below. Both pictures depict women as the central subjects and share the same caption, further linking them. In both, the central victims are powerless and, indeed, overpowered by their oppressors. This picture appeals to the viewer’s emotions, both of disgust with the perpetrators and terror at the fate that can clearly



be seen awaiting the subjects of the image. The weapon held by the Nazi soldier here is used to intimidate the on-looking Jewish woman and the young boy by her side, whose fear is palpable on his face. This menacing depiction of an oppressive force bearing arms carries a much different quality

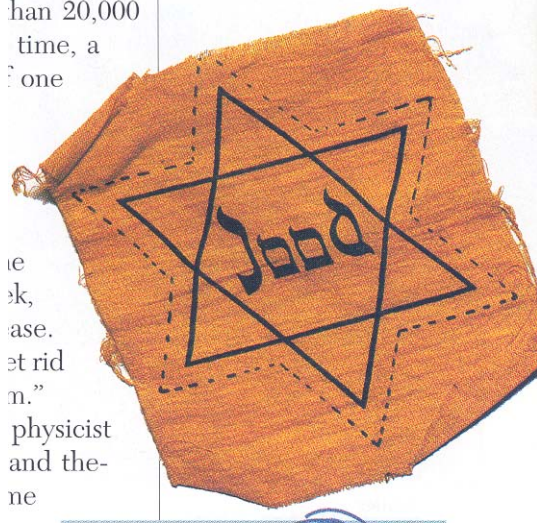
than the image of US soldiers analyzed previously (page 73) because this soldier is directly threatening his victims.

Taken together, these images give both a sense of victims' defenselessness and the inevitability of their fate. The use of ovens, both here and in other texts, convey individual experiences as inconsequential; the victims of the Holocaust shared a common experience and a common fate. The powerlessness of the victims is the central subject in these two images, and the captions reinforce the injustice of their experience. The caption also suggests that these images are valuable specifically because of their documentary function, a function more associated with photographs than paintings. Frequently images of victims of the Holocaust are dated and the locations depicted are indicated, information which adds to the documentary function of the images. The point of view of both of these images, however, is that of the perpetrator. The viewer, who is positioned as a kind of voyeuristic viewer is in the position of power, reinforcing that the subjects are victims.

The only consistently included artifact used to represent victims of the Holocaust is intimately tied to their experiences of oppression and the viewpoint of their oppressors, as opposed to the history or culture of the victims. Unlike the cornucopia of material artifacts included to represent indigenous Americans, this artifact is not connected to the group identity of European

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Dutch Jews were forced
to wear this yellow Star
of David to make them
easily identifiable.



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Jewry. The six-pointed star patch, depicted to the left (Danzer et al. 2002:555), is not a self-identifier of Jewish people. The caption clearly links the item with oppressive force. As an image, it is relatively large compared to other photographs in the text, and its color draws the viewer's eye. It is a culturally pervasive symbol of the Jewish experience of the Holocaust, making it especially meaningful for viewers. It simultaneously reinforces this association as the only color image on the two pages that open

the section titled "The Holocaust". Its non-German text communicates the far-reaching oppression of Jews across the European continent, as well as the consistency of the treatment of victims.

The image asks the viewer to see the artifact through the gaze of the museum patron. The star has yet to even be cut out for use, appearing more as a well-preserved piece of history, here in full color and high resolution, than a piece of an individual's lived experience. The viewer imagines this as one of thousands, mass produced by a powerful, oppressive regime. The high resolution allows the viewer to imagine holding the cloth, feeling its texture. These details bring the viewer to seek to understand the process of oppression, not the people experiencing that oppression. This image is impersonal, disconnected from any individual's story. The mass produced nature of the

artifact further reinforces the unimportance of personal experiences and the collective consequences of the Holocaust. Other textbooks have used multiple images of yellow stars printed with different languages, further cementing the idea that this was both wide spread and consistently experienced by different groups of Jewish victims.

Indigenous Americans and victims of the Holocaust are consistently imaged in certain ways, and those ways are distinct for the two groups. Indigenous Americans are represented often as part of the North American landscape. They are regarded and imaged often as artwork, and the aesthetics of their experiences stand out for the reader. Collective experiences are minimized by the consistent use of portraits and highly stylized artwork, as well as juxtapositions with the interests of the United States. The group identity of victims of the Holocaust, however, is consistently at the forefront in their representation. When they are imaged, they are often in groups or are represented by artifacts which are designed to invoke a sense of collective suffering. They are never juxtaposed against the interests of their oppressors unless those interests are demonstrating intent to cause harm.

Chapter 6: Conclusions and Implications

Through analysis of half of the total textbooks used by high school United States history classes in Whatcom County, Washington, I have discovered consistent patterns of representation for victims of the Holocaust and indigenous Americans in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

My research has shown that the two genocides represented in high school history textbooks currently used in Whatcom County are not meeting essential criteria identified by prominent genocide education scholars, although for very different reasons. Victims of the Holocaust are represented as victims of Nazi Germany's oppression and genocidal intent, but in that representation they are rendered silent and passive. Victims of the Holocaust are represented without a past nor a future, and the readers of those textbooks learn little about what the losses suffered under the Holocaust mean for their world beyond that they wouldn't want it happening to them. The brutality and magnitude may be represented, but the humanity of the victims is not.

In stark contrast, indigenous Americans, who were targeted as victims by a similar ideology, were not represented as victims of crime. Their experiences are contextualized as the losers in a great war over resources, a war in which they were certainly mistreated, but a war nonetheless. Their history and future were included in the textbook narrative, but their targeting for annihilation was de-emphasized at best. The readers were not encouraged to take the perspective of indigenous Americans but instead were provided with explanations and justifications for the destruction of indigenous peoples by the United States. Such justifications were rarely if ever given for Nazi Germany and were always contextualized as brutal crime using images and text to encourage empathy for the victims or disgust for the perpetrators.

Genocide education is a well-defined component of the Washington State Essential Academic Learning Requirements, and as such it is expected to be taught in alignment with these standards in public schools throughout the state. The textbooks used in Whatcom County failed to adequately represent the indigenous perspective of genocide as outlined in the Grade Level Expectations for Washington State. These findings align with other research which exposes generally poor textbook representation of indigenous Americans (Lavere 2008, Sanchez 2007, Masur 1998, Loewen 1995, Kirkness 1977), even in an environment of heightened awareness about indigenous issues and histories. While content in today's textbooks may be including more balanced representations of indigenous cultures and avoiding the blatant stereotypes of previous textbooks, my research demonstrates that indigenous perspectives as victims of genocide are mostly absent in contemporary textbooks. Schuman, Schwartz and D'Arcy (2005) concluded that popular beliefs about the past are resistant to change, even in the face of considerable revisionist history. The Columbus myth of "discovery" may be as hard to lose as the narrative of American genocide will be to add.

My sample of textbooks also fails to adequately represent the victims of the Holocaust based on appropriate scholarly literature on genocide education. Interestingly enough, this conclusion lines up with contemporary research on Holocaust education in Israel (Porat 2004). Israeli textbooks since the 1980's have represented the Holocaust as the wholesale slaughter of defenseless Jews, leaving resistance efforts by the wayside. The goal, Israeli history professor Dan Porat argued, was to encourage Israeli students to internalize the victimization of the Holocaust and thus identify with the need for a strong Jewish state to defend them from external threats (Porat 2004:633). This connection is fascinating, and in and of itself deserves attention far beyond the scope of this thesis.

Based on genocide education literature, there are two main foci for appropriately teaching students about acts that constitute genocide. Effective and responsible teaching takes into consideration both the criminal and the human aspects of genocide which relate to the perpetrators' and the victims' respective views and understandings of events. The perpetrators must be adequately represented so that the legal definition of genocide can be applied to the situation. The victims must also be adequately represented so that students understand the threat that genocide represents for all people and the incredible loss that humanity experiences when genocide takes place.

Textbooks are the guide for most history classes and have the potential to make a strong and lasting impression on students' beliefs and knowledge about the world. Those impressions may, in turn, affect the way students live their lives and engage with others in a diverse, pluralistic society. The failure of textbooks to adequately represent victims of genocide is more profound than simply not meeting state-wide standards. When victims of genocide are misrepresented, when they are defined by their experiences of oppression, when they are marginalized and their experiences omitted from our history, the genocide perpetrated against them is continued. If their story is forgotten, the genocide against them becomes complete; their destruction is legitimized by our misrepresentation of their histories and their experiences.

While completing this research, a number of other research topics which could extend out from my work became apparent. One, in particular, which might make my arguments even more clear would be to analyze the critical thinking questions posed throughout the sections regarding victims of genocide. David Laverre's study (2008) revealed the generally dismal quality of critical thinking exercises in United States history textbooks, but he did not focus on the content those exercises aimed to teach. Occasionally I came across questions which seemed to digress directly

away from discussions of injustice or distract from instances of genocidal violence. Deepening that analysis might crystallize the intentionality of mis-education of American youth against their inherited legacy of genocide.

Studies have been conducted on the changes in indigenous representation through time (Schuman, Schwartz and D'Arcy 2005, Moore and Clark 2004) which focus on accuracy, bias and stereotypes in indigenous representations, but a study on the changes in depictions of genocidal acts is absent. Studies of Holocaust education in Germany (von Borries 2003, Pagaard 1995) and Israel (Porat 2004, Krug 1963) have demonstrated the use of the narrative of genocide for distinctly political purposes and how it has changed over time as the politics of victimization changed. A similar study of the genocide against indigenous Americans might reveal trends in the "politics of memory: the tension between elite and popular beliefs about the past" (Schuman, Schwartz and D'Arcy 2005:25).

Another area of study might include the effect of these materials on students themselves. A researcher might look into how students code and decode images of indigenous Americans and victims of the Holocaust, and how much of the textual material they bring into that analysis. It would be difficult to factor out individual teaching styles, classroom environments, supplemental materials, etcetera, but that does not make it any less relevant or meaningful. One element that I became curious about while completing this research was how these representations of indigenous Americans affect students' understandings of present-day indigenous groups. My assumption is that by continually marginalizing injustices against indigenous peoples and imaging them as artwork rather than people, the relative obscurity and invisibility of present-day indigenous cultures would then become unquestioned as a rational choice away from "heathenism" and towards modern post-industrialism, the world European American students live in today.

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Appendices

Appendix A- Definitions of Genocide

1. Raphael Lemkin's definition from his book *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe*, published 1944

"...a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups, with the aim of annihilating the groups themselves. The objective of such a plan would be disintegration of the political and social institutions, of culture, language, national feelings, religions, and the economic existence of national groups, and the destruction of the personal security, liberty, health, dignity, and even the lives of the individuals belonging to such groups." (Lemkin 2008[1944]:79)

2. United Nations' definition in the *Genocide Convention*, Article II

any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:

- (a) Killing members of the group;
- (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;
- (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;
- (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;
- (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. (OHCHR 1948)

3. Textbook definitions

- "The deliberate and systematic killing of a group of people" (Jordan et al.1995:725)
- Undefined, associated with "scientific mass murder of 'undesirables'" (Bailey et al.1998:870)
- "The deliberate annihilation of an entire people" (Boyer 2001:817)
- "The deliberate and systematic killing of an entire people" (Danzer et al. 2002:555)
- "The deliberate and systematic extermination of a particular racial, national, or religious group" (Danzer et al. 2002:963)
- "The deliberate annihilation of an entire people" (Boyer and Stuckey 2003:545)
- "The organized killing of an entire people" (Cayton et al. 2005:663)
- "The deliberate destruction of an entire ethnic or cultural group" (Cayton et al. 2005:843)

Appendix B- Content Analysis Data Tables

1. Terms Associated with Victims and Perpetrators: Indigenous Americans

| Terms for Victims | | Terms for Perpetrators | |
|--------------------------------|----|-------------------------|----|
| warrior... | 31 | hero... | 7 |
| traditional | 11 | brutal | 3 |
| leader | 10 | corrupt... | 3 |
| peaceful... | 9 | intruder | 3 |
| culture | 8 | pioneer | 3 |
| In "Quotations" | | In "Quotations" | |
| "chief..." | 3 | "Americanize" | 5 |
| "absurd craze" | 2 | "civilize..." | 4 |
| "Ghost Shirts" | 2 | "American" names | 2 |
| From Quotations | | From Quotations | |
| savage... | 3 | kill... Indian... | 7 |
| children are freezing to death | 2 | civilized/ation | 3 |
| creating a disturbance | 2 | bill will destroy...rob | 2 |
| Terms For Actions | | Terms For Actions | |
| surrender... | 33 | force... | 45 |
| protest... | 28 | assimilate... | 24 |
| raid... | 24 | relocate | 19 |
| refused | 17 | massacre... | 17 |
| resist... | 16 | destroy... | 16 |
| attack... | 15 | remove... | 14 |
| occupy... | 14 | terminate... | 14 |
| defeat... | 11 | defeat... | 12 |
| demand... | 11 | restrict... | 10 |
| flee... | 11 | broken treaties | 10 |
| suffer... | 9 | attack... | 8 |
| fought [to keep whites out] | 8 | pressure... | 8 |
| gave up [land] | 8 | slaughter | 7 |
| reject... | 7 | arrest | 7 |
| defend... | 7 | crush... | 7 |
| vision | 7 | invade... | 7 |
| adopt... [white ways] | 5 | violate... | 7 |
| control... | 5 | abolish... | 6 |
| organized | 5 | expand... [settlement] | 6 |
| settled | 5 | sieze... | 6 |

2. Terms Associated with Victims and Perpetrators: Victims of the Holocaust

| Terms for Victims | | Terms for Perpetrators | |
|----------------------------|----|---|----|
| survivor... | 18 | death camp... | 18 |
| refugees | 16 | power... | 6 |
| victim... | 9 | superior... [race] | 5 |
| immigrant | 8 | storm troopers | 4 |
| scientist | 4 | thugs | 4 |
| In "Quotations" | | In "Quotations" | |
| "enemies" of the 3rd Reich | 2 | "master race" | 6 |
| "inferior races" | 2 | "Aryan..." | 4 |
| "Jew" | 2 | "final solution of the Jewish question" | 4 |
| From Quotations | | From Quotations | |
| corpse | 2 | systematic | 3 |
| human beings as slaves | 2 | conquest | 2 |
| lashes [with a whip] | 2 | convict prisons | 2 |
| Terms For Actions | | Terms For Actions | |
| flee... | 7 | exterminate... | 11 |
| starve... | 6 | Holocaust | 11 |
| survive... | 5 | destroy... | 10 |
| escape... | 4 | genocide... | 10 |
| immigrate... | 4 | force... | 9 |
| slave labor/slavery | 3 | horror... | 9 |
| assassinated | 2 | persecute... | 9 |
| endure... | 2 | murder | 8 |
| perished | 2 | round up | 7 |
| psychological scars | 2 | systematic | 7 |
| resettled | 2 | mass murder | 6 |
| resist... | 2 | atrocities... | 5 |
| suffer... | 2 | attack... | 5 |
| anxious | 1 | blamed | 5 |
| collapsed | 1 | cremated | 5 |
| contaminated | 1 | hate... | 5 |
| damaged | 1 | shoot... | 5 |
| difficult | 1 | strip... | 5 |
| emigrate | 1 | violence... | 5 |
| failed | 1 | chilling | 4 |

3. Textual Content Analysis: Indigenous Americans

| Textbooks by publication date | 1995 | 1998 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2005 | Average |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|---------|
| Pages | 23 | 19 | 29 | 29 | 20 | 34 | 25.7 |
| Perpetrator's Beliefs & Values | | | | | | | |
| Perpetrator Propaganda | 8.7% | 5.3% | 10.3% | 6.9% | 10.0% | 5.9% | 7.9% |
| Perpetrator Quotes regarding | 34.8% | 31.6% | 31.0% | 6.9% | 35.0% | 29.4% | 28.1% |
| Funding/Support | | | | | | | |
| Perpetrator-Sponsored groups | 21.7% | 21.1% | 13.8% | 6.9% | 10.0% | 11.8% | 14.2% |
| Military amnesty/lack of cons. | 30.4% | 15.8% | 24.1% | 0.0% | 5.0% | 5.9% | 13.5% |
| Laws making legal/profitable | 34.8% | 21.1% | 24.1% | 10.3% | 10.0% | 2.9% | 17.2% |
| Armed Deployment | | | | | | | |
| Direct orders to genocide | 8.7% | 0.0% | 3.4% | 10.3% | 5.0% | 0.0% | 4.6% |
| Rapprochement/praise | 8.7% | 0.0% | 10.3% | 6.9% | 10.0% | 5.9% | 7.0% |
| Description of violence/conflict | 39.1% | 10.5% | 24.1% | 17.2% | 15.0% | 20.6% | 21.1% |
| Implicitly supporting illegal acts | 43.5% | 31.6% | 44.8% | 24.1% | 40.0% | 32.4% | 36.1% |
| Perp. Beliefs-Victim identity | | | | | | | |
| History of interaction/conflict | 26.1% | 36.8% | 44.8% | 20.7% | 35.0% | 32.4% | 32.6% |
| Perp. Benefits of V oppression | 56.5% | 68.4% | 51.7% | 51.7% | 55.0% | 52.9% | 56.0% |
| Laws to control Victims | | | | | | | |
| removal/concentration/segregation | 43.5% | 36.8% | 24.1% | 17.2% | 20.0% | 38.2% | 30.0% |
| Mod. of rights/responsibilities | 47.8% | 36.8% | 31.0% | 24.1% | 30.0% | 17.6% | 31.2% |
| Forced conformity/identification | 4.3% | 5.3% | 3.4% | 0.0% | 5.0% | 2.9% | 3.5% |
| Victim identity BEFORE | | | | | | | |
| history/context | 13.0% | 21.1% | 6.9% | 13.8% | 0.0% | 23.5% | 13.1% |
| naming of group | 13.0% | 10.5% | 20.7% | 10.3% | 10.0% | 17.6% | 13.7% |
| naming of individuals | 21.7% | 10.5% | 17.2% | 10.3% | 10.0% | 2.9% | 12.1% |
| location | 8.7% | 26.3% | 10.3% | 10.3% | 5.0% | 17.6% | 13.0% |
| Identity-performing rituals | 13.0% | 0.0% | 3.4% | 3.4% | 5.0% | 2.9% | 4.6% |
| subsistence | 8.7% | 15.8% | 3.4% | 10.3% | 5.0% | 14.7% | 9.7% |
| Victim identity AFTER | | | | | | | |
| resurgence movements | 0.0% | 5.3% | 10.3% | 13.8% | 15.0% | 8.8% | 8.9% |
| reclamation efforts/protests | 21.7% | 0.0% | 13.8% | 13.8% | 15.0% | 8.8% | 12.2% |
| structural organization/reorg. | 13.0% | 10.5% | 13.8% | 20.7% | 15.0% | 8.8% | 13.6% |
| V experience DURING | | | | | | | |
| emotional reactions | 13.0% | 5.3% | 34.5% | 24.1% | 30.0% | 14.7% | 20.3% |
| resistance | 4.8% | 63.2% | 55.2% | 41.4% | 60.0% | 44.1% | 44.8% |
| social structure adjustments | 21.7% | 15.8% | 20.7% | 10.3% | 10.0% | 8.8% | 14.6% |
| geographic adjustments | 47.8% | 42.1% | 34.5% | 31.0% | 40.0% | 29.4% | 37.5% |
| V quotes regarding experiences | 30.4% | 26.3% | 55.2% | 31.0% | 60.0% | 23.5% | 37.7% |

4. Textual Content Analysis: Victims of the Holocaust

| Textbooks by publication date | 1995 | 1998 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2005 | Average |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|---------|
| Pages | 9 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 8 | 7.2 |
| Perpetrator's Beliefs & Values | | | | | | | |
| Perpetrator Propaganda | 11% | 20% | 14% | 29% | 14% | 38% | 21.0% |
| Perpetrator Quotes regarding | 22% | 20% | 0 | 43% | 14% | 38% | 22.8% |
| Funding/Support | | | | | | | |
| Perpetrator-Sponsored groups | 33% | 0 | 14% | 14% | 14% | 25% | 16.7% |
| Military amnesty/lack of cons. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14% | 0 | 13% | 4.5% |
| Laws making legal/profitable | 11% | 0 | 14% | 0 | 29% | 13% | 11.2% |
| Armed Deployment | | | | | | | |
| Direct orders to genocide | 22% | 0 | 14% | 43% | 14% | 25% | 19.7% |
| Rapprochement/praise | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Description of violence/conflict | 11% | 20% | 14% | 71% | 43% | 38% | 32.8% |
| Implicitly supporting illegal acts | 0% | 0 | 14% | 14% | 0 | 13% | 6.8% |
| Perp. Beliefs-Victim identity | | | | | | | |
| History of interaction/conflict | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14% | 14% | 13% | 6.8% |
| Perp. Benefits of V oppression | 33% | 0 | 14% | 86% | 0 | 50% | 30.5% |
| Laws to control Victims | | | | | | | |
| removal/concentration/segregation | 33% | 0 | 14% | 57% | 29% | 63% | 32.7% |
| Mod. of rights/responsibilities | 56% | 0 | 29% | 57% | 29% | 50% | 36.8% |
| Forced conformity/identification | 11% | 0 | 0% | 29% | 0% | 38% | 13.0% |
| Victim identity BEFORE | | | | | | | |
| history/context | 11% | 0 | 14% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4.2% |
| naming of group | 11% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 13% | 4.0% |
| naming of individuals | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14% | 0 | 0 | 2.3% |
| location | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14% | 0 | 13% | 4.5% |
| Identity-performing rituals | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0% |
| subsistence | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0.0% |
| Victim identity AFTER | | | | | | | |
| resurgence movements | 0 | 0 | 14% | 0 | 14% | 0 | 4.7% |
| reclamation efforts/protests | 0 | 0 | 14% | 0 | 29% | 0 | 7.2% |
| structural organization/reorg. | 0 | 0 | 29% | 0 | 29% | 13% | 11.8% |
| V experience DURING | | | | | | | |
| emotional reactions | 33% | 60% | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 15.5% |
| resistance | 11% | 0 | 0 | 14% | 0 | 25% | 8.3% |
| social structure adjustments | 0 | 0 | 0 | 14% | 0 | 0 | 2.3% |
| geographic adjustments | 44% | 20% | 29% | 43% | 29% | 50% | 35.8% |
| V quotes regarding experiences | 11% | 0 | 29% | 71% | 29% | 0 | 23.3% |

5. Image Content Analysis: Indigenous Americans

| Textbooks by publication date | 1995 | 1998 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2005 | Average |
|--------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---------|
| Image of Person(s) | 94% | 95% | 74% | 82% | 74% | 95% | 86% |
| Traditional dress | 71% | 82% | 60% | 59% | 67% | 70% | 68% |
| Perpetrator dress | 24% | 27% | 17% | 23% | 15% | 20% | 21% |
| Portrait pose | 47% | 50% | 31% | 45% | 30% | 25% | 38% |
| <u>Caption</u> | | | | | | | |
| Name central Victim(s) | 53% | 36% | 26% | 55% | 22% | 35% | 38% |
| Identify Group | 59% | 68% | 34% | 59% | 30% | 40% | 48% |
| Name central Perpetrator(s) | 18% | 32% | 6% | 23% | 7% | 15% | 17% |
| Name Artist | 53% | 32% | 9% | 0% | 7% | 15% | 19% |
| Date image | 29% | 64% | 9% | 9% | 0% | 5% | 19% |
| Irrelevant info | 41% | 14% | 14% | 14% | 0% | 10% | 16% |
| Unrelated to image | 12% | 23% | 6% | 18% | 7% | 15% | 14% |
| Perpetrator significance | 29% | 50% | 3% | 18% | 22% | 35% | 26% |
| Victim significance | 35% | 32% | 29% | 45% | 26% | 30% | 33% |
| Name event | 29% | 32% | 37% | 27% | 48% | 35% | 35% |
| Encourages Critical Analysis | 0% | 0% | 26% | 0% | 30% | 60% | 19% |
| <u>Related Text</u> | | | | | | | |
| Perpetrator's power focus | 53% | 82% | 26% | 27% | 56% | 35% | 47% |
| Victim's power focus | 29% | 23% | 43% | 14% | 67% | 15% | 32% |
| Passive Language | 65% | 55% | 31% | 32% | 19% | 40% | 40% |
| Provenience | 41% | 45% | 40% | 27% | 59% | 35% | 41% |
| Individual's significance | 35% | 18% | 37% | 27% | 33% | 15% | 28% |
| Quotes victim | 18% | 0% | 49% | 32% | 48% | 15% | 27% |
| Ignores/contradicts caption | 71% | 77% | 14% | 23% | 30% | 15% | 38% |
| Extend victim story past opp. | 24% | 9% | 23% | 18% | 48% | 20% | 24% |
| Describes injustice | 29% | 41% | 20% | 14% | 48% | 35% | 31% |
| No related text | 12% | 5% | 29% | 59% | 7% | 40% | 25% |
| Total images | 17 | 22 | 35 | 22 | 27 | 20 | 23.8 |

6. Image Content Analysis: Victims of the Holocaust

| Textbooks by publication date | 1995 | 1998 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2005 | Average |
|--------------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|---------|
| Image of Person(s) | 100% | 100% | 67% | 78% | 80% | 85.7 | 85% |
| Traditional dress | 60% | 50% | 50% | 44% | 40% | 71.4 | 53% |
| Perpetrator dress | 40% | 33% | 17% | 33% | 40% | 14.3 | 30% |
| Portrait pose | 0% | 83% | 33% | 56% | 40% | 42.9 | 42% |
| <u>Caption</u> | | | | | | | |
| Name central Victim(s) | 20% | 33% | 17% | 33% | 20% | 14.3 | 23% |
| Identify Group | 40% | 33% | 33% | 33% | 60% | 57.1 | 43% |
| Name central Perpetrator(s) | 60% | 83% | 33% | 33% | 20% | 28.6 | 43% |
| Name Artist | 20% | 0% | 0% | 11% | 0% | 0% | 5% |
| Date image | 40% | 83% | 33% | 0% | 40% | 14.3 | 35% |
| Irrelevant info | 20% | 0% | 0% | 22% | 20% | 0% | 10% |
| Unrelated to image | 0% | 50% | 0% | 11% | 0% | 0% | 10% |
| Perpetrator significance | 60% | 83% | 33% | 56% | 40% | 42.9 | 52% |
| Victim significance | 40% | 33% | 33% | 0% | 20% | 14.3 | 23% |
| Name event | 100% | 66% | 83% | 56% | 60% | 57.1 | 70% |
| Encourages Critical Analysis | 0% | 0% | 17% | 0% | 20% | 57.1 | 16% |
| <u>Related Text</u> | | | | | | | |
| Perpetrator's power focus | 60% | 100% | 50% | 33% | 60% | 85.7 | 65% |
| Victim's power focus | 0% | 0% | 17% | 0% | 0% | 0% | 3% |
| Passive Language | 60% | 83% | 33% | 33% | 80% | 71.4 | 60% |
| Provenience | 40% | 17% | 50% | 33% | 60% | 85.7 | 48% |
| Individual's significance | 0% | 17% | 0% | 11% | 0% | 0% | 5% |
| Quotes victim | 0% | 0% | 17% | 22% | 20% | 0% | 10% |
| Ignores/contradicts caption | 20% | 66% | 17% | 0% | 20% | 0% | 21% |
| Extend victim story past opp. | 20% | 17% | 17% | 11% | 20% | 0% | 14% |
| Describes injustice | 80% | 100% | 33% | 33% | 40% | 85.7 | 62% |
| No related text | 0% | 0% | 33% | 67% | 20% | 14.3 | 22% |
| Total images | 5 | 6 | 6 | 9 | 5 | 7 | 6.3 |